STUDIES IN MODERN HISTORY

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THE JEWISH FATE AND FUTURE

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PREFACE

ONCE more, as so often in the past, the Jewish people is encircled in many countries by the flames of hatred. Anti-Semitism in its new racial form, adopted as an article of faith by the National Socialist Government of Germany and stirred up within the country and abroad by propaganda on an unexampled scale, has in a few years robbed the Jews in Germany and Austria of their civil rights and their means of existence, and is stretching out its feelers beyond Germany's borders. Meanwhile, in the democratic countries in which the Jews enjoy full rights of citizenship, they run the risk of seeing Judaism robbed of its content by the progressive cultural assimilation of Jews to their Christian environment. Many Jews can no longer see why they should continue to adhere to Judaism, and are asking themselves whether it is worth while to bear the burden.

The hammer blows of anti-Semitism and the erosion from assimilation are not the only destructive elements. The birth-rate is falling; three million Jews in Soviet Russia are entirely cut off from the body of Jewry; and changes in general economic conditions and in the economic policy of many States are depressing the situation of the Jews. Their number is greater today than ever before in their history — nearly seventeen millions; but the perils that threaten their continued existence have perhaps grown even faster.

Religious revival, migration from countries of greater to countries of less oppression, occupational changes, strengthening of Jewish nationalism in the Diaspora, the setting up of a Jewish National Home in Palestine — these

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PART I

NUMBER, DISTRIBUTION, AND INCREASE OF THE JEWS

CHAPTER I

RELIGION, NATIONALITY, ORIGIN, AND RACE

THE term "Jew" has a fourfold meaning, according to whether it is defined on the basis of religion, nationality, origin, or race.

1. RELIGION

It seems, on the face of it, an easy matter to determine who belongs to the Jewish religion; and in fact the criterion of religion is more accurate than the other three criteria. Accordingly it is in this sense that the term "Jews" is used in this book. Nevertheless there are cases in which the question of a person's religious allegiance cannot be given a completely satisfactory answer. In countries in which the religious denomination is registered by the State authorities in censuses and at birth and death, or in which all persons of the same religion are included in a religious community recognized by the State, there is no difficulty in ascertaining whether any person is a Jew or not. But there are countries in which the State takes no cognizance of the religious affiliations of its citizens, regarding them as a purely private matter, more or less like membership of an association. There the religion of anyone who does not himself avow that he is a Jew may remain unknown or doubtful, although his forebears were of the Jewish faith and never formally renounced it. Cases of this sort are the more numerous the greater the spread of indifference to religion among Jews. Very

often these persons, especially when they belong to the second or third generation in a non-religious or anti-religious family, have lost all sense of association with the Jewish religion and no longer regard themselves as Jews. Their number cannot be given with any approach to accuracy; but it is certainly considerable in those European and over-sea countries in which Jews have lived for generations and have enjoyed full citizenship. In some cases they have tacitly though not formally joined other religious communities. In the United States, for instance, there are tens of thousands of persons descended from members of the Jewish religious community who go not to the Jewish services but to those of Christian Science; if asked their religion they would probably regard themselves as members of that sect, though they have never formally joined it. Similarly in Soviet Russia, where official account is taken not of religion but of nationality, there are a large number of persons who, in spite of their descent from members of the Jewish religious community, describe themselves by their nationality, not as Jews, but as Russians, Ukrainians, etc.; it may be surmised that their usual motive for doing this, or one motive, is to demonstrate that they are no longer Jews by religion.

Among the persons who make profession of the Jewish religion are some small groups of proselytes who are not Jewish by race and descent. These include: (*a*) a few thousand Jewish negroes in New York City, mostly descendants of negroes born in the southern States, who may have been slaves of Jewish masters. They have not only taken Jewish names but adopted Jewish rites. But their attachment to Judaism is neither deep nor permanent. (*b*) The Falashas of Abyssinia, numbering some 10,000 souls and mostly of negro race. They are the remainder of a much more numerous community, which was probably converted to Judaism in the sixth century A.D. by prose-

lytization from Yemen, where there was an independent Jewish State at that period. They have the Old Testament in the Gheez language, but do not know the Talmud and do not understand Hebrew. (*c*) The Gerim or Subbotniki (Sabbatarians). In Tsarist Russia their number was estimated at 50,000 souls. They are the relics of an important religious reform movement which arose in the fifteenth century in the Russian Orthodox Church, and which approached the Jewish religion in placing the Old above the New Testament and in observing the Saturday instead of the Sunday, but did not formally go over to Judaism. This group suffered cruel persecution at the hands of the Orthodox Church. Since Jewish agricultural colonization began in Palestine some hundreds of them have come into the Jewish settlements and formally adopted Judaism.

We leave out of account the religious sects which in the course of history have abandoned the Jewish religion — the Samaritans, now reduced to 200 souls, living at Nablus (Palestine); the Karaites, numbering about 15,000, of whom there were 8234 (in 1926) in Soviet Russia, especially in the Crimea, 4507 (in 1927) in Egypt, and others in Istanbul, Halicz (Galicia), Riga, Troki (near Vilna), and Paris; and the Doenmes (descendants of followers of Sabbatai Zvi) of Salonica and Istanbul, a few thousands in all. We also leave out of account the Marranos of Portugal (in the towns of Braganza, Oporto, Covilha, Belmonte) and the Balearic Isles, whose forefathers seceded from Judaism to Christianity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For a long time they remained secretly loyal to Judaism as "crypto-Jews"; but today most of them have but a faint recollection of their Jewish origin. On the other hand, we include the 3000 Jews in Meshed (Iran), whose forefathers were forcibly converted in 1839 to Islam and were called Djiddim ("New"), because in their hearts they have remained true to the Jewish religion and on

entering Palestine they return to Judaism. The total number of Jews by religion in the world at the end of 1938 was 16,717,000, as will be seen in Chapter II.

2. Nationality

The Jews who claim Jewish nationality are fewer in number than the Jews by religion. An individual belongs to the nationality (national group) with which he feels most closely united by common history, language, customs, and culture. The nation is a group with a common fate and culture. For the Jews of the Middle Ages religious and national allegiance went together, since in that period community of religion was by far the firmest bond. Only since the French Revolution, with religion robbed of its transcendent importance, have the Jews tended to adopt the language and culture of their Christian environment, and only since then has it been possible for the question to arise whether an individual who in religion was a Jew but had adopted the language and culture of his Christian neighbours, and felt more akin to them than to the Jewish community, should be regarded as Jewish by nationality or as French, English, German, etc.

An individual's nationality is not a quality that can be recognized by outward signs. Accordingly, in those countries in which the nationality of every inhabitant is officially recorded, it is often left to the individual to state the nationality to which he considers himself to belong. This is done, for instance, in Soviet Russia. Only in unreasonable cases as, for instance, when someone claims to belong to a national group of whose language he is entirely ignorant, is his statement likely to be challenged. In other countries, such as Poland, the determination of nationality does not depend on the individual's declaration but on his spoken language. Consequently, those

inhabitants of Poland who use Yiddish or Hebrew in their everyday intercourse are counted as Jews.[1]

A common language is, indeed, today the principal associative element in a nation. The only exceptions to this general rule are where religion still preserves its former importance — for instance, among the Jews who have for centuries been settled in the Near East. The Jews of the North African countries or in Iraq or Iran do not speak a special language but that of their environment, Arabic or Persian ; yet they belong beyond question, in their own opinion and in that of their neighbours, to the Jewish nationality. Meanwhile Nazi Germany denies membership of the German nation to the Jews even if in language and culture they have become completely assimilated to the German race and feel that they are Germans ; indeed, even if they have been converted to Christianity and have become completely dissociated from the Jewish religion.[2]

In Eastern Europe a large part of the Jews continue to speak Yiddish among themselves, and in the Balkans and Asia Minor some hundreds of thousands of Jews still speak Sephardic (Spaniole) ; in most other countries the Jews have abandoned their own language in favour of the vernacular, speaking German, French, or English like their Christian neighbours. Between these two sections is a third one in an intermediate stage between the use of Yiddish or Sephardic and that of the language of their country. To this class belong many immigrants from Eastern Europe into Western and Central Europe and the

[1] In some languages there are two words for Jews ; one lays more stress on their religious and the other on their national membership — thus :

German : Israelit (or Mosaisch) ; Jude — French : Israélite ; Juif
Polish : Izraelita ; Zyd — Russian : Judeiski ; Evreiski
Roumanian : Mozaiki ; Evrei

[2] A curious circumstance is that there is in London an " Association of Christian Hebrews ", composed mainly of Christian missionaries of Jewish descent. In spite of their conversion, they assert their unbroken unity with the Jewish people.

oversea countries. In the first generation these immigrants continue in the main to speak their own language, but in the second or at latest the third generation it is replaced by the language of the country and disappears entirely from use.

To this grouping of Jewry in regard to language there corresponds a grouping in regard to nationality. The Jews of Eastern Europe, who speak Yiddish among themselves, may be regarded beyond question as of Jewish nationality, but the Jews in any country in which they have adopted for generations the language and culture of their environment regard themselves as members of that country's nationality, although, as the example of Nazi Germany shows, they are not always accepted as fellow nationals. Here again there is an intermediate group, in process of emergence from Jewish nationality but not yet arrived at full membership of any other.

In the statistics of some countries, as in Galicia before the War, Yiddish was not recognized as a national tongue, and the Yiddish-speaking population was counted in with the German or other dominant nationality.

3. Origin

Apart from the small groups of proselytes mentioned above, the Jews who belong today to the Jewish religion trace their origin back to those Jews who once formed a Jewish State in Palestine. But there can scarcely be any Jew in our day whose forefathers are confined exclusively to persons descended from Palestinian Jews. In the course of nearly 2000 years alien blood has mingled with that of the Jews through infiltration, for instance, from Arabs in Northern Africa and Spain, Persians in Persia, Southern Europeans in Spain and Italy, Celts and Northern Europeans in France and Germany, and Slavs and Mongols in Eastern

Europe. Other national groups have gone over to Judaism and intermingled with the Jews, as, for instance, a section of the Tartar Khazars in the ninth century. Nevertheless it is true that the line of ancestry of most of the Jews of today, although it has been interspersed with alien elements, still shows a connexion through many links with the Jews of the ancient Jewish State.

The individual's origin has never yet been an element in statistics so far as members of the white race are concerned. It has remained for the German National Socialists to incorporate it by statute in the national statistics. Under a law of 1933 all persons, even if they do not belong to the Jewish faith, are regarded as Jews at law, and are made subject to most of the disabilities to which Jews by religion have been subjected, if either of their parents belonged to the Jewish faith. In some respects this applies even to persons with a grandfather or a grandmother who was of the Jewish faith. The purpose of this law is to nullify the results for Jews and Christians of the mixed marriages and the baptisms of the last two generations — a sort of *restitutio in integrum*. In this way Jewry receives back those persons whom it has lost in Germany since assimilation set in. It is impossible to say just how many of these persons there are. The political bureau of the Nazi party estimated at the beginning of 1938 that in Germany (without Austria) there were 450,000 Jews and 290,000 persons who were 50 or 25 per cent Jewish. In Austria, where in 1930 there were about 200,000 Jews, but where secessions from Judaism have been much more frequent in the past half-century, the number of persons who have seceded from Judaism and of half-Jews or quarter-Jews may reasonably be estimated at 150,000.

In 1938 the Hungarian Government followed the German example, though in a modified form; it introduced a percentage quota for Jews in certain professions,

and in doing so it placed on the same footing as Jews by religion those who had seceded from Judaism on or after August 1, 1919, and their descendants. Since 1919 there had been many mixed marriages, conversions, and secessions from Judaism; consequently, this measure affected tens of thousands of persons, who were brought back to Jewry virtually by compulsion. With regard to the status of children of mixed marriages under the percentage quota, a law of 1939 lays down that those who are baptized before the end of their seventh year shall be regarded as Christians unless and until they marry a Jew or a Jewess; those baptized after their seventh birthday can acquire Christian status by marrying a Christian man or woman.

The Italian Government, in a law of the autumn of 1938 restricting the rights of Jews, includes among Jews those who are no longer Jews by religion but whose parents were. In contrast with Germany, descendants of mixed marriages are regarded as Jews only if they themselves belong to the Jewish religion.

Slovakia, too, after its separation in the spring of 1939, began to introduce anti-Jewish racial laws on the German model. Here, however, the problem of baptized Jews and half or quarter Jews will play no great part, as mixed marriages and baptisms of Jews were rare.

If the Nazi definition of Jews were adopted throughout the world, the number of Jews would probably be between one and two millions more than that of the Jews by religion. For the number of those who, since the beginning and especially since the middle of the nineteenth century, have left the Jewish faith, either by secession or conversion or without any overt action, or who have sprung from mixed marriages, has been considerable not only in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Italy, but in Western Europe and overseas.

4. Race

(a) *The conception of race; racial purity*

Anthropology classifies men, on the basis of particular bodily features, such as colour of skin, colour of eyes, shape of skull, or size of body, into various "races" (main and subsidiary races). These races are not biological units but merely convenient groupings. Biological units (species) are delimited by Nature; individuals of one species and those of another are marked off from each other by the natural barrier of inability to reproduce themselves by union with one another. In contrast to this, the races of man defined by anthropology are a classification and no more; they are comparable to the Linnaean system in botany, in which the plants are divided into 24 classes, regardless of their other characteristics and their relationship, simply according to the number, length, and arrangement of their stamens. Nature has set up no barrier between the races of man: they are all fruitful in union, and their crossing produces new races.[1]

Apart from racial crossing, in the course of long periods special qualities can be "bred" in man by selection, and new races thus formed. From a "hereditary quantum" common to all animals of the same species, the breeder can produce new variants by setting himself a particular end to which to breed, and by steadily choosing for pairing

[1] In botany the Linnaean system has given place to the natural system under which the plants are divided into natural species. Each such species is a biological unit in the above sense. In man, with his unlimited capacity for racial crossing, a natural system of this sort is unattainable. It is conceivable, however, that the anthropology of the future may discover other criteria for racial classification which have a more instructive bearing on the general racial constitution of body and spirit than do the criteria at present used. Baur, Fischer, and Lenz (*Human Heredity*, New York, 1931, p. 688) think that differences in the functioning of the internal glands may one day form a serviceable criterion.

from a group of animals only those whose characteristics are in the direction of the end aimed at, eliminating the rest. In man the variety of climatic and social conditions (the "environment") plays the part of the breeder; by natural or social selection the environment can produce variants of man which differ the more strongly in their characteristics from the group from which they are descended, the greater the difference of external conditions and the longer it lasts. By eliminating the less fit, the environment has bred the qualities important to existence under the particular conditions, in one direction for one group and in another for another. What today we call races of men are the variants produced by crossing and selection.[1] The Jews may be regarded as one or more of these variants. There is no definite number of variants (races); the more characteristics anthropology notes in individuals as the marks of a variant, the greater will be the number of variants. When in what follows we make use of the word "race" (primary race, secondary race, racial group), it is the variants that are meant.

The racial groups do not coincide with any national or State groups. Members of the same racial group may be found in various national or territorial groups (peoples). Conversely, in each people there are members of various racial groups. The identification, so frequently made today, of a people with a race is a confusion of the part with the whole. People talk of a Teuton race, identifying the German people with the North European race which is strongly represented among them. Similarly they speak of a Jewish race, identifying the Jews with the Syrian-Anatolian race that predominates among them.

There is no characteristic, at least among the white

[1] To some extent an exception is formed in one case only — that of primitive peoples in almost inaccessible parts of the earth, who have been preserved from crossing and selection by isolation and uniformity of environment from time immemorial.

Main

races, that is exclusively associated with the individuals of any particular people. All that can be said is that any particular racial characteristic may be found in a lesser or greater percentage among a particular people. Manifestly a blond Frisian and a Jew of the Alpine-Anatolian type are of different race. But the German people is not made up entirely of blond Frisians and the Jews are not all Alpine Anatolians; both peoples include many individuals of mixed origin who are racially very close to one another or even identical. The racial composition of the peoples of the white race takes no account of frontiers; these are continually crossed. This is not surprising, since in the course of history all groups of the white race have come into contact with almost all other groups, and their blood has been intermingled.

Whatever physical characteristics the anthropologists may choose in defining a particular race, no nation will ever have its whole population showing these characteristics exclusively, in complete purity of race. There is not a single nation of the white race that is racially pure in this sense. Only a part of any nation will correspond to the description of a particular racial group given by the anthropologists, and may thus be regarded as of pure race.

(b) *The racial composition of the Jews*

Anthropologists usually divide mankind into the white, the yellow, and the black races, and the white race into three subdivisions, the North European, the Alpine (especially in Central Europe and in Asia Minor), and the Mediterranean races. Some anthropologists recognize two branches of the Mediterranean race, an Eastern branch, represented at its purest by the Bedouin Arabs, and a Western branch, of which the typical representatives are the Southern Italians and the Spaniards. Similarly some anthropologists divide the Alpine race into a Syrian-Anatolian branch, best

represented in ancient times by the Hittites and the Arameans and at the present day by the Armenians, and a Dinaric branch, found at its purest among the Croats.

The Jews are essentially a mixture of the Syrian-Anatolian branch of the Alpine race and the Eastern branch of the Mediterranean race. This mixture was demonstrably present in Palestine at a very early period. The Bedouins penetrating into Palestine from Arabia, with their long skulls, brownish hair and skin, and straight, narrow noses, men of medium height with comparatively long limbs, mingled here with the population which had dwelt in the country from the most ancient times, a group belonging to the Syrian-Anatolian branch of the Alpine race, with short skulls, black hair, and fleshy and often hooked noses, stocky men with short limbs. This racial mixture remained the basis of the subsequent racial development of the Jews in Palestine. Later the Jews in the Near East absorbed elements of the Mediterranean race, Philistines and Edomites; blood of the Alpine race also infiltrated into them through their association with the Babylonians, Persians,[1] and Arameans, who belonged to the Alpine race. In the Diaspora the racial composition underwent further modifications. After the Arab conquest of Northern Africa and Southern Europe the Jews migrated into these regions, a further trace of Mediterranean blood thus entering into

[1] The mixture with the Persians has a special significance to which insufficient attention has so far been paid. The Persians are allied in race with the Jews, both races containing a strong Syrian-Anatolian element. It appears, however, that in the two centuries from the time of Cyrus, who liberated the Jews from captivity in Babylon, and under his philo-Jewish successors down to Alexander's conquest of Persia, mixtures of Jews with Persians, who at that time were politically and culturally dominant throughout the Near East, were specially frequent. They influenced the racial composition of the Jews all the more since the Jews were then a small minority in comparison with the Persians. To this day many Jews reveal a strong likeness to Persians. In particular it is not infrequent among Jews for the eyebrows to meet, a feature which is probably Persian in origin, being most widespread in Persia.

their racial composition through marriages or illicit intercourse; and, conversely, the Jews who came into Eastern Europe from Palestine, by way of Syria, Asia Minor, and Byzantium, absorbed, in the course of their migration, the blood not only of the Alpine peoples of Asia Minor and of the Tartar Khazars but also of Slav peoples who were themselves a mixture of Alpine and Mongol elements. In this way the Alpine strain was reinforced in the Jews of Eastern Europe, and some Mongol blood added.

Later, when the Jews spread into Western and Central Europe, the racial intermingling continued further. When Christianity gained strength, mixed marriages with Jews were prohibited by the Church as strictly as they had formerly been by the Jewish religion. But in face of the close association between Jews and non-Jews in the course of so many centuries it was inevitable that, even after the cessation of mixed marriages, Christian blood should penetrate by illicit means into the Jews. However small this element may have been in a single generation, its cumulative result in the course of so many generations was to bring an appreciable percentage of alien blood, including that of Nordic peoples, into the Jews. The percentage became especially large when, after the emancipation of the Jews in the last century, mixed marriages between Jews and Christians grew more and more numerous, in addition to which there were children of extra-marital unions between Jewish and non-Jewish persons.

In Syria, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Iran, and Iraq, and also in Northern Africa and Southern Europe, it is very difficult or even impossible to distinguish Jews from non-Jews by their physical characteristics. The reason is plain: the peoples of these countries are made up mainly, though in different proportions, from the same racial components as the Jews, the Alpine and Mediterranean. In the Balkans, too, and in Central Europe, it is not always possible to tell

Jew from non-Jew. It becomes easier the farther north we go in Europe, since the Christians in the northern regions belong mainly to the blond Nordic race. This racial component has also infiltrated now into the Jews, in consequence of the mixture with Northern European elements in the past two or three generations; but it is not present in anything approaching the strength of the Alpine or the Mediterranean component.

(c) *Main Jewish types*

In historic times the Jews have had three main areas of distribution — Asia Minor, North Africa with Spain, and Eastern Europe. In consequence of differences in the extent of intermixture with other races in these areas, and perhaps also of differences in the selective process, three main racial types of Jews have developed.

The first main type is represented by the Oriental Jews, who have lived since ancient times in Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Asia Minor. They show the characteristics of the Syrian-Anatolian branch of the Alpine race. They speak the language of their environment, mainly Arabic, Persian, or Turkish.

The second main type consists of the Sephardic Jews in North Africa, Italy, Turkey, Syria, and Palestine; they belong mainly to the Western branch of the Mediterranean race. From the fourteenth to the nineteenth century their principal language was Sephardic (medieval Castilian). In the course of time, however, and especially in recent decades, they have gone over more and more to the language of their country — Italian, French, Greek, Arabic, Serbian, or Turkish.

The third type is that of the Ashkenazic Jews, who came from Palestine and Babylon to the Balkans and Central and Eastern Europe. Their original Alpine racial component has been reinforced by their mixture with peoples

of Asia Minor and Slav populations, and, on the other hand, modified by the infiltration of Mongol and in later times of Northern European blood. They are called Ashkenazim, from the Hebrew word Ashkenaz, "Germany", because they came from Germany in the Middle Ages to Eastern Europe, where they found their widest field for penetration. They brought German with them as their language, and they have preserved it to this day in the form of Yiddish, a Middle High German interspersed with Hebraisms.

The three principal types of Jews could not have developed if the Jewish nation had formed a single social group in which marriages could take place between any members without distinction. Had that happened, after these many generations the Jews would now have had everywhere much the same racial components. But the Oriental Jews have always lived in the countries of the Near East, the Sephardic Jews kept to their settlements in Spain, in Southern France, and later in Turkey, and the Ashkenazim have lived in Eastern and Central Europe for several centuries; and this segregation has produced three different mating groups. The members of each group married as a rule only among themselves,[1] and this, together with the addition of different blood from their non-Jewish environment, gradually removed them from the common racial basis.

The racial features of Jewry have altered considerably in the last two thousand years, because the percentages of the three principal types within it have changed. Down to the twelfth century the type of the Oriental Jew pre-

[1] There have been occasional contacts and interminglings. Some of the Sephardic Jews, for instance, when expelled from Spain settled in France, Southern Germany, and Bohemia, mingling with the Ashkenazic Jews. This probably explains why the Jews of Southern Germany still show many more individuals of the Mediterranean type than do those of Northern and Eastern Germany. Similarly there have been mixed marriages between Oriental and Sephardic Jews in Northern Africa, Asia Minor, and Syria, and, to a smaller extent, between Oriental and Ashkenazic Jews in the Balkans.

dominated, but now this type has fallen entirely into the background. Similarly the Sephardic type, which was more numerous than the Ashkenazic type until the fifteenth century, has fallen now to a small fraction of the total number of Jews, owing to the lesser natural increase of the Sephardic Jews. On the other hand, the Ashkenazic Jews, with their great excess of births over deaths, have increased enormously and are the predominant type today in Eastern and Central Europe and overseas.

This racial modification is not peculiar to the Jews. Among all civilized peoples the racial type has been changed in the course of history by migrations and conquests and by differences in the natural increase of the various racial components. Where two races are intermingled in a nation a modification of the racial characteristics of the nation may also be produced by the difference in the "dominance" of the factors in heredity, those of one race being obliterated by those of the other.[1] Racially the Jews of today are as unlike the Jews of the ancient Jewish State as the Germans of today are unlike the Teutons of Tacitus or the Greeks of today are unlike the Hellenes of the time of Pericles.

(d) *Semi-Jewish groups*

In historic times a few small racial groups of adherents of the Jewish religion have grown out of the mixing of Jews of Palestinian origin with groups of other races, and differ racially from the main Jewish types. Among these are:

(1) The Jews of Yemen, in Southern Arabia, about 50,000 in number. They are descendants of Arab tribes which were converted to Judaism in the sixth century of the

[1] The investigations into the question which factors in heredity are dominant or recessive (that is to say, appear in the offspring or are obliterated by rival factors), where two main types of Jews are mixed, for instance, an Ashkenazic and a Sephardic parent, are still in the initial stages.

Christian era by Jews from Palestine who settled among them and intermarried with them ;

(2) The Beni-Israel of Bombay and its surroundings, about 15,000 in number, descendants of mixed marriages between Jews from Persia or Yemen and Indian women ; [1]

(3) The 1400 brown Jews of Cochin, on the Malabar Coast, also of Jewish-Indian origin ; [2]

(4) The Jews of the Caucasus, about 70,000 souls, divided into two language groups (Highland Jews and Grusinian Jews) ; they may be descendants of Jews sent into exile after the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel in 722 B.C., who mixed with Caucasian tribes which went over to Judaism ;

(5) The Jews of Bokhara, probably descended from Khazars who were converted to Judaism and fled to Bokhara on the destruction of their State. Among them are many tall men with powerful necks and broad shoulders, resembling the statues of old Assyrian kings. They number some 20,000 souls, of whom some 5000 have migrated to Palestine in recent decades.

(e) *Alien types among the Jews*

Not all Jews can be included on account of their physical characteristics among any of the groups thus far mentioned. The ceaseless wandering of the Jews over the greater part of the earth has resulted in characteristics of almost every race appearing sporadically among the Jews. There are Jews whose skin is of the same colour as in other Jews, but who have broad cheekbones and almond eyes that resemble the Mongol type, or curly hair, flat noses, and thick lips of negroid type. This latter type has probably come into Jewry through the circumstance that Moorish

[1] H. S. Kehimkar, *The History of the Beni-Israel of India*. London, 1938.
[2] C. Z. Kloetzel, *Anjuvanam*. Muncaczevo, 1938.

slaves from North Africa, with an admixture of negro blood, were converted to the Jewish faith and accepted into Jewish society, and married Jewish wives. Far more numerous than these rare Mongolic or negroid Jews are now the Nordic types, descended from marital or extra-marital unions between Jews and Northern Europeans. As long ago as the 'seventies Virchow examined 75,377 Jewish children and found among them 11 per cent of pure blondes, 42 per cent of black-haired Jews, and 47 per cent of mixed type. Since then, with the increase in mixed marriages, the percentage of blondes among the Jews of Western and Central Europe has increased probably to 20 or 25 per cent. In Eastern Europe, where mixed marriages with Northern Europeans were rarer, the percentage of blondes is smaller. On the other hand, persons with reddish hair, a variant of black hair, are fairly frequent. This is attributed either to interbreeding in ancient times (with the Edomites) or to racial infiltration from the Ruthenes, this shade of hair being very common among the Ruthenes, especially, according to H. Szpidbaum,[1] in Eastern Galicia. The migration of Jews from Galicia has carried the feature into other countries. In ancient Palestine there were, of course, according to the Biblical narrative, red-haired Jews, including Esau and King David.

(f) *Racial differences in mentality*

Anthropology with its racial classification would be of no particular interest if there were not in all the classification an assumption that the physical differences in mankind are accompanied by differences in mentality. It is only this assumption that gives anthropology its value to the history of mankind and to sociology. But the question

[1] "O Typach Zydow Jasnowlosych w Polsce" (Light-haired Jewish types in Poland), in *Archiwum Nauk-Antropologicznych*, Tour III, No. 4. Warsaw, 1929.

whether physical characteristics are associated with particular mentalities, and if so which with which, remains unanswered to this day. "No amount of study of what man looks like can help us to predict how he will behave and what he is able to achieve", writes B. Malinowski.[1] Klineberg comes to a similar conclusion: "There is no scientific proof of *racial* differences in mentality. . . . It may be that at some future time, and with the aid of techniques as yet undiscovered, differences may be demonstrated. In the present state of our knowledge, however, we have no right to assume that they exist." [2]

But if we leave aside the question whether any *associations* of physical and mental qualities exist, it remains a fact that human beings and human groups differ from one another not only in their physical but in their mental characteristics. The quality that distinguishes the Jews from their neighbours, in the eyes of Christians, more than any other, is their commercial ability. But this is not a mental category in itself but the outcome of the capacity for rapid association of ideas, which puts the individual in a position to draw rapid and accurate conclusions from given conditions. This capacity is not peculiar to the Jews. We find it in all the peoples of Asia Minor, for instance in the Persians, the Armenians, and the Syrians. Asia Minor was the cradle of civilization and of world trade before history began, and retained its importance as a commercial centre down to modern times. In the Near East the Armenians and Persians are regarded as the Jews' superiors in trade. The gift of inventiveness shows itself not only in trade but, for instance, in chess, which is not pursued for gain. Chess was invented by the Persians, and it is a game in which the Jews are admitted masters.

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica Book of the Year*, 1938, p. 44.

[2] *Race Differences* (New York, 1935), p. 345. For the Nazi "Aryan theory", which attributes particular mental characteristics to "Aryans", see chapter xii.

In Asia Minor there is no difference of mentality between Jews and non-Jews ; if other peoples of the Near East had come to Europe instead of the Jews, they would have become the representatives of the gifts regarded by Christians as specifically Jewish — as happened in Turkey to the Armenians. The Jews, however, were the only people of the Near East that penetrated far into Europe, and consequently they have been regarded by the Christians as the sole representative of these gifts.[1]

The peoples of the Near East are not the only ones to share with the Jews the gift of rapid association of ideas ; it is shared by all peoples that can look back on thousands of years of uninterrupted civilized life. The Chinese are an example. In their rationalism, their sober judgment, their commercial capacity, and the strength of their family loyalties they are remarkably like the Jews. This suggests the conclusion that the capacity for rapid thinking, regarded in Europe as a Jewish characteristic, is really a characteristic of all peoples who have long been civilized. In the course of generations civilized life, with its penal code and other resources, eliminates those whose stock of good sense is insufficient to restrain them from yielding to impulse and so coming into conflict with their fellow men. This elimination increases the percentage of individuals guided by reason and with instincts well under control. Just as the individual progresses mentally from the irrational, instinct-led life of the child to the rational life of the adult,

[1] There is as yet little material on the subject of the variations in the gifts of the chief Jewish types. Palestine, where children of the Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Oriental types go to school together, offers good soil for comparative studies. From an investigation carried out by Dr. M. Bril (Social Welfare Bulletin, Jerusalem, 1937–38, published in Hebrew, p. 123), covering 8360 Ashkenazic and 3679 Sephardic and Oriental school children in Palestine, it appears that 7·4 per cent of the Ashkenazic and 18 per cent of the other children were not promoted in 1936–37. This suggests a higher standard of intelligence among the Ashkenazim ; but it may have been partly due to their better social situation and home care.

so does the life of civilized peoples progress in the direction of rationalization, of the repression of instinct and the cultivation of a rational regulation of life. The older a nation's civilization, and the less it has been disturbed by invasions of " barbarians ", that is to say, of peoples under the sway of their instincts, the more numerous will be the individuals within it who are guided in their actions less by instinct and more by reason. The mental difference between Jews and European peoples may perhaps be reduced to the simple formula that the Jews are mentally *older*.[1] The rapidity of association of ideas, the sharpening of the intelligence, grows with the continued existence of a nation under civilized conditions. When the Jews migrated into Europe, their rationalization of life had progressed much further than among the European peoples, who became civilized at a later period. In recent centuries, however, the percentage of " rationalists " in this sense has increased also among the Christians. Among the Dutch and the English and in the United States there are already many Christians who are in no way inferior to the Jews in their quickness of intelligence and their commercial capacity.

In compensation for their superiority in sharpness of intelligence, the Jews seem to be inferior to other peoples in accuracy of perception with the senses, especially the sight, in the faculty of command, and perhaps in skill as craftsmen and artists. Among the great mathematicians they are more strongly represented in the field bordering on logic, in arithmetic, in analytical work, in the quantum theory, than in fields that demand imaginative power in regard to space, such as descriptive or analytical geometry.

If human life should develop further in the direction

[1] F. M. Feller, in his *Antisemitismus* (Berlin, 1931), using psycho-analytical methods, arrives at similar conclusions: among Jews there is a much larger percentage than among " Aryans " of persons who have brought their instincts under control and are able to conduct their lives on rational lines.

of urbanization, industrialization, and the mechanization of labour, certain qualities at present regarded as predominantly Jewish — quickness in thinking, rationalism in conduct, repression of instincts — will more and more become general qualities of humanity. The Jews would then be merely the forerunners in a development common to all members of the white race. But as the difference between old and young, although of a passing nature, is very real, so is the difference between the Jews and the other nations; it affects the social conditions of the Jews, and their relations with their neighbours, and thus it must not be left out of account in a description of their social conditions.

CHAPTER II

NUMBER AND TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION

1. In the past

In the past the number of the Jews has varied greatly. In A.D. 70, at the time of the destruction of the Jewish State, it amounted according to the best estimates to between 4½ and 5 millions, of whom 1 million were in Palestine. Later, owing to secessions and to excess of deaths over births, the number fell until it reached its lowest point with 1½ millions at the end of the fifteenth century, at the time of the expulsion and mass conversion of the Spanish Jews. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the figure remained almost stationary. In the eighteenth century it rose to 2½ millions, in the nineteenth it increased rapidly to 10½ millions, and at the end of 1938 it was 16,717,000.

This figure gives the Jews 0·78 per cent of the world's population, which is estimated today at 2150 millions. Omitting India, Central Asia, the Far East, and the interior of Africa, where there are practically no Jews, and considering only the parts of the world which are predominantly European in race and culture, the Jews form 1·96 per cent of their total population, which may be estimated at 850 millions. This percentage is considerably lower than at the beginning of the Christian era. At the census undertaken by the Emperor Augustus (A.D. 14), the Roman Empire, which at that time comprised the bulk of the territory inhabited by the white race, had a population of 54

millions, of which the 4½ million Jews formed 8·3 per cent. There were probably a further 20 millions of the white race, including 500,000 Jews, living beyond the borders of the Roman Empire. Thus, at that time there was one Jew in every 15 members of the white race, where today there is only one in every 51.

Even in the sixth century B.C. the Jews were no longer limited to Palestine, but were already to be found in considerable numbers in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syria. They were also gradually spreading farther abroad. A letter from Herod Agrippa I, of the first century A.D., mentions as countries in which Jews were settled Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Coele-Syria, Cilicia, Asia Minor as far as Bithynia and up to the Black Sea, Greece, Cyprus, Crete, and Mesopotamia. There were also Jewish communities in Italy and Byzantium.

In the first thousand years of the Christian era many Jews migrated through Northern Africa and Italy into Spain, Gaul, Germany, and England, and also by way of Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Byzantium into the Balkan Peninsula and the Slav countries. But the majority of the Jewish population remained till about A.D. 1000 in the countries of North Africa and the Near East. Only in the eleventh century did the Jews gain numerically in importance in Europe, especially Spain, into which they migrated in great numbers. The Spanish Jews assumed the cultural hegemony over world-Jewry which until then had been exercised by the Jews of Babylonia. Before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, the 1½ millions who constituted world-Jewry were about equally divided between the Near East and Europe. The eastward migration of the expelled Spanish Jews temporarily increased the proportion in the Near East. But from 1700 onward the stronger natural increase of the Jews in Europe turned the balance in their favour, and since 1800 the Jews have

changed from an Oriental into a mainly European nation.

After the Crusades, and especially after the Black Death (1349), the situation of the Jews in England, France, and Germany deteriorated, and they were expelled from these countries. They turned eastward, and were gladly received by the Polish kings. Their number grew in Poland from 20,000 in 1500 to 100,000 (3·5 per cent of the Polish population) in 1600,[1] and went on increasing through immigration. For some centuries the Polish Jews held unquestioned cultural hegemony in world-Jewry.

After the partitions of Poland (1772–95) these Jews came under Russian, Austrian, and Prussian dominion. At that time this was the approximate distribution of the Jews:

In the Near East (including Turkey)	1,000,000
,, Russia (including Russian Poland)	800,000[2]
,, Galicia	300,000[2]
,, Bohemia and Moravia	70,000
,, Hungary	100,000
,, Prussia (including Posen)	100,000
,, France (including Alsace)	80,000
,, Holland	50,000
	2,500,000

The total number of world-Jewry thus amounted to about 2,500,000, and of these 40 per cent inhabited the Near East, 44 per cent Eastern Europe, and 15 per cent Central and Western Europe. There were also Jews in Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, and America, but their number was insignificant. According to A. M. Carr-

[1] Kutrzeba, *Sprawa Zydowska w Polsce*, quoted in Zieminski, *Problem Emigracji Zydowskiej*. Warsaw, 1937.

[2] By the end of the nineteenth century the Jews in Russia (including Russian Poland) had increased to 5,100,000, and in Galicia to about 800,000. The explanation of the much more rapid increase in Russia lay in the extensive Jewish migration throughout the century from Galicia to other parts of the Dual Monarchy (*e.g.* Vienna, Hungary), and to Roumania. Moreover, the accepted figure for the Jews in Russia at the end of the eighteenth century is probably an understatement.

Saunders[1] the population of the world totalled 906 millions in 1800; the total of the white race was 274 millions. Thus the 2½ million Jews made up 0·28 per cent of the population of the world and 0·91 per cent of the white race.

The slow natural increase of the Jews between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was paralleled by the slow increase of the Christian population. The bad hygienic conditions produced a very high rate of mortality, especially among infants. The sanitary conditions were worst in the overcrowded walled cities, and the Jews, with their higher percentage of town-dwellers, suffered even more severely than the Christians. The towns were regarded in those days as "the graveyards of the people". In the nineteenth century, with the general improvement in sanitary conditions and the economic advance of the Jews in Europe, mortality, and especially infant mortality, diminished, and the percentage of European Jews among world-Jewry increased remarkably, there being no corresponding improvement in hygienic conditions in the Near East. About 1850 the total number of Jews in the world amounted to 4,750,000, of whom 72 per cent inhabited Eastern Europe and the Balkans, 14·5 per cent Central and Western Europe, and 1·5 per cent America, while only 12 per cent inhabited the Near East and North Africa. By 1880 the total number had grown to about 7,750,000, and Jewry in Eastern Europe and the Balkans reached its peak with almost 75 per cent of the total; the proportion formed by the Jewries of Western and Central Europe had fallen slightly to 13·5 per cent owing to the fall in their birth-rate since the middle of the nineteenth century. The proportion of America and other oversea countries had risen to 3½ per cent, while that of the Near East had dropped from 12 to 8 per cent. (See Table I.)

[1] *World Population* (Oxford, 1936), p. 42.

TABLE I

CHANGES IN THE TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWS IN THE WORLD

Year	Total Number of Jews	Percentage of Total living —			
		In the Near East	In Eastern Europe	In the Rest of Europe	In Oversea Countries
70	5,000,000	98·0	..	2·0	..
1000	2,500,000	80·0	2·0	18·0	..
1490	1,500,000	50·0	5·0	45·0	..
1800	2,500,000	40·0	44·0	15·0	1·0
1850	4,750,000	12·0	72·0	14·5	1·5
1880	7,750,000	8·0	75·0	13·5	3·5
1900	10,500,000	5·8	61·4	21·2	11·6
1938	16,700,000	8·2	46·0	13·5	32·3

Since 1880 another great change has occurred in the distribution of the Jews owing to the mass migration from Eastern Europe to Western and Central Europe, to the United States, to other oversea countries (Canada, South America, South Africa, etc.), and to Palestine. Between 1881 and 1938 some 5 million Jews have left Eastern Europe, and the percentage which East European Jewry forms of the total has been brought down from 75·0 to 46·0. In Western and Central Europe the proportion has remained virtually unchanged as against 1880 (13·5 per cent). In the Near East and North Africa it has increased from 8·0 to 8·2, but only because since 1880 Palestine has taken almost 350,000 Jewish immigrants. In the United States and other oversea countries there has been an immense increase, from 3·5 per cent in 1880 to 32·3 per cent in 1938. By the end of the eighteenth century the Jews had changed from a predominantly Oriental into a European, or rather East European, nation; since then their percentage in Western and Central Europe and in the oversea countries (45·8) has almost reached the percentage in Eastern Europe (46·0).

TABLE II

THE WORLD DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWS ACCORDING TO THE LAST CENSUS OR ESTIMATE

No.	State	Total Population		Jewish Population			Estimated Number of Jews at the End of 1938
		Year	Number	Year	Number	% of Total Population	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	I. EUROPE						
1	Poland	1931	32,183,500	1931	3,113,000 [1]	9·7	3,325,000 [1]
2	Russia in Europe:						
	(*a*) Ukraine	1926	29,018,187	1926	1,574,428	5·4	1,700,000 [2]
	(*b*) White Russia	1926	4,983,240	1926	407,059	8·2	400,000 [2]
	(*c*) Central Russia	1926	82,045,623	1926	588,843	0·7	950,000 [2]
	Total	1926	116,047,050	1926	2,570,330	2·2	3,050,000 [2]
3	Roumania	1930	18,052,896	1930	758,226	4·2	800,000
4	Hungary	1930	8,688,319	1930	444,567	5·1	480,000 [3]
5	Germany:						
	(*a*) The "Old Reich"	1933	65,988,491	1933	503,720	0·8	330,000 [4]
	(*b*) Austria	1934	6,760,233	1934	191,781	2·8	145,000
6	Great Britain and N. Ireland	1931	46,189,445	1931	300,000 *	0·6	370,000
7	Czechoslovakia:						
	(*a*) Bohemia	1930	7,109,376	1930	76,301	1·1	75,000 [5]
	(*b*) Moravia and Silesia	1930	3,565,010	1930	41,250	1·2	40,000 [5]
	(*c*) Slovakia	1930	3,329,793	1930	136,737	4·1	95,000 [5]
	(*d*) Carpatho-Russia	1930	725,357	1930	102,542	14·1	105,000 [5]
	Total	1930	14,729,536	1930	356,830	2·4	315,000 [5]
8	France	1936	41,905,968	1935	260,000 *	0·6	280,000
9	Lithuania (without Memel district)	1923	2,028,971	1923	155,126	7·6	165,000
10	Netherlands	1930	7,935,565	1930	111,917	1·4	120,000
11	Latvia	1935	1,950,502	1935	93,406	4·8	95,000
12	Greece	1928	6,204,684	1928	72,791	1·2	75,000
13	Yugoslavia	1931	13,934,038	1931	68,405	0·5	75,000
14	Belgium	1930	8,092,004	1931	60,000 *	0·7	75,000

17	Bulgaria	1934	6,090,215	1926	46,431	0·8	50,000
18	Switzerland	1930	4,066,400	1930	17,973	0·4	22,000
19	Sweden	1930	6,141,571	1930	6,653	0·1	10,000
20	Denmark	1935	3,706,349	1921	5,690	0·2	7,000
21	Danzig	1929	407,517	1927	9,239	2·4	5,000 [7]
22	Estonia	1934	1,126,413	1934	4,566	0·4	5,000
23	Eire	1936	2,965,854	1926	3,686	0·1	5,000
24	Spain	1930	23,563,867	1930	4,000 *	0·0	3,000
25	Rhodes	1934	56,754	1930	3,886	7·1	3,000
26	Portugal	1930	6,825,883	1931	1,200 *	0·0	3,000
27	Memel District	1936	150,893	1936	3,000 *	2·0	3,000 [8]
28	Luxemburg	1930	299,993	1930	2,242	0·7	3,000
29	Finland	1930	3,667,067	1930	1,782	0·1	2,000
30	Norway	1930	2,814,194	1930	1,359	0·1	2,000
31	Gibraltar	1931	21,372	1931	1,000 *	4·7	1,000
					Total in Europe		9,924,000

* Estimated.

[1] The Polish census of 1931 does not include the Jews serving with the Army, estimated at 25,000 From the census year 1931 to the end of 1938 the Jews in Poland had a natural increase of about 280,000 and lost about 90,000 by excess of emigration over immigration

[2] The figures for Russia do not indicate the religion of the inhabitants, but only their national, *i e.* ethnic, attachment as declared by every person himself. While therefore in all other countries a person was considered a Jew if he was of Jewish religion, in Soviet Russia the adherence to the Jewish nationality was the decisive factor for his being counted a Jew In this way a number of persons in Russia, although affiliated, either themselves or through their parents, with the Jewish religion, were nevertheless registered in the census as belonging to the Russian or Ukrainian nationality. It is not known how many Jews have changed their nationality since the census of 1926

[3] The Jewish population of Hungary rose, through the annexation of some parts of Slovakia, in the autumn of 1938, from 440,000 to 480.000 In the spring of 1939 a further 105,000 Jews came under Hungarian rule through the annexation of the whole of Carpatho-Russia. The number of the Jews in Hungary was estimated in June 1939 at 590,000

[4] The census figures for Germany (1933) included the inhabitants of the Saar district, incorporated in Germany in 1935. From the census year 1933 to the end of 1938, about 140,000 Jews left Germany (the "Old Reich"), besides this there was a natural decrease of about 30,000, leaving a Jewish population of about 330,000 by the end of 1938 In Austria, where about 180,000 Jews lived at the time of the *Anschluss* in March 1938, their number had dropped by the end of 1938 to 145,000 by emigration (30,000) and natural decrease (5000). By August 1939 the number of Jews had further decreased, according to estimates, to about 272,000 in Germany and 80,000 in Austria.

[5] In the autumn of 1938 about 20,000 Jews left the Sudeten districts ceded by Czechoslovakia to Germany and settled in the Czech parts of Bohemia and Moravia About 3000 Jews in the Teschen district came under Polish rule. With regard to the changes caused by the cession of some parts of Slovakia and of the whole of Carpatho-Russia to Hungary, see note 3 In the other parts of Slovakia there remained, according to a census taken at December 31, 1938, 87,487 Jews, *i e* 3 2 per cent of the total population of 2,709,000. The number of Jews in the new Czech territory was estimated at 115,000 in February and at 100,000 in June 1939.

[6] According to an investigation carried through by the Italian Government in October 1938, the number of Jews (including baptized Jews) amounted to 58,425, among them 12,000 foreign Jews, most of whom were ordered to leave Italy

[7] By June 1939 the Jewish population of Danzig had been reduced by compulsory emigration to about 2000. The Jewish community has been entirely broken up.

[8] The Memel district was incorporated in Germany in March 1939. Most of the Jews left for Lithuania.

TABLE II—*continued*

No	State	Total Population		Jewish Population			Estimated Number of Jews at the End of 1938
		Year	Number	Year	Number	% of Total Population	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	II. AMERICA						
1	United States	1930	122,775,046	1927	4,228,000 * [9]	3·5	4,700,000
2	Argentina	1935	12,402,068 *	1934	253,000 [10]	2·0	275,000
3	Canada	1931	10,376,786	1931	155,614	1·5	175,000
4	Brazil	1930	40,273,000	1935	50,000 *	0·1	55,000
5	Uruguay	1931	1,903,083	1935	20,000 *	0·5	25,000
6	Mexico	1930	16,522,722	1935	20,000 *	0·1	20,000
7	Cuba	1931	3,962,344	1933	7,800 *	0 2	10,000
8	Chile	1930	4,287,445	1935	9,000 *	0·9	10,000
9	Colombia	1928	7,851,000	1935	3,000 *	0·04	4,000
10	Peru	1936	6,500,000 *	1935	2,500 *	0·04	3,000
11	British Guiana	1931	310,933	1925	1,786 *	0·6	2,000
12	Jamaica	1935	1,121,823 *	1935	2,000 *	0·2	2,000
13	Dutch Guiana (Surinam)	1935	231,489	1934	800 *	0·4	1,000
14	Curaçao	1935	79,395	1933	566	0·7	1,000
15	Paraguay	1935	926,580 *	1935	1,000 *	0·01	1,000
16	Venezuela	1926	3,026,878	1926	882	0·03	1,000
17	Other Parts of America	..	..	..	..	..	1,000
					Total in America		5,286,000
	III. ASIA						
1	Palestine	1931	1,035,154	1931	175,006	16·9	440,000 [11]
2	Asiatic Russia	1926	30,980,865	1926	109,851	0·4	130,000
3	Iraq	1934	3,561,000	1934	100,000 *	2·8	100,000
4	Iran	1935	15,000,000 *	1935	50,000 [12]	0·3	50,000
5	Syria and Lebanon	1935	3,630,000	1932	16,588 [13]	0·5	15,000
6	Yemen	1935	1,000,000 *	1935	50,000 [14]	5·0	50,000
7	Asiatic Turkey	1935	14,935,000	1927	30,146	0·2	25,000
8	India	1931	352,837,778	1931	24,141 [15]	0·0	25,000
9	China	1936	422,707,868 *	1935	9,000 *	0·0	9,000
10	Manchukuo	1934	30,504,689 *	1934	8,000	0·0	8,000
11	Afghanistan	1935	7,000,000 *	1935	5,000 *	0·1	5,000

15	Straits Settlements	1931	1,114,012	1931	1,000 *	0·1	1,000
16	Netherlands Indies	1930	60,727,233	1930	1,095	0·0	1,000
17	French Indo-China	1936	23,030,000 *	1936	1,000 *	0·0	1,000
					Total in Asia		868,000
	IV. AFRICA						
1	French Morocco	1936	6,242,706	1936	161,312 [16]	2·5	175,000
2	Spanish Morocco and Tangier	1934	855,202 *	1934	19,918 [16]	2·3	25,000
3	Algiers	1936	7,234,684	1931	110,127 [16]	1·5	130,000
4	British South Africa	1936	9,588,665	1926	71,816	0·9	100,000 [17]
5	Tunis	1936	2,608,313	1936	56,248 [16]	2·3	70,000
6	Egypt	1937	15,904,525	1927	63,550	0·4	70,000
7a	Tripoli } Libya	1936	} 890,000	1931	21,342	} 2·8	22,000
7b	Cyrenaica }	1936	}	1931	3,192	}	3,000
8	Abyssinia (Ethiopia)	1935	5,500,000 *	1935	10,000 *	0·2	10,000 [18]
9	Southern Rhodesia	1935	1,289,000 *	1935	2,500 [19]	0·2	3,000
10	Other Parts of Africa	..	..	..	..	..	1,000 [20]
					Total in Africa		609,000
	V. AUSTRALASIA						
1	Australia	1933	6,629,839	1933	2,353	0·4	26,000
2	New Zealand	1936	1,573,810	1926	2,591	0·2	4,000
					Total in Australasia		30,000
					Total in the whole world		16,717,000

* Estimated.

[9] According to H. S. Lindfield (*The Jews in the United States*, New York, 1927). Since 1927 there has been a Jewish immigration of about 90,000 and a natural increase of about 380,000.

[10] According to Dr. Simon Weil, Director of the Jewish Colonization Association in Buenos Aires.

[11] The Palestine Government estimated the number of Jews at the end of 1938 at 411,222, and the total settled population at 1,368,732 (besides 66,553 nomads). To the figure for the Jews there are to be added about 30,000 Jewish immigrants not officially registered, who arrived between 1931 and 1938. By June 1939 the Jewish population of Palestine was estimated at 450,000.

[12] The mean between the estimates of *The Statesman's Year-Book* (40,000) and of Dr. A. J. Brawer, Jerusalem (52,000 to 62,000 in 1935).

[13] The 1932 census in Lebanon gave 3588 ; in Syria the number was estimated at the same time, at 13,000. Since 1932 the latter figure has decreased by emigration.

[14] Based on inquiries from Yemenite Jews in Jerusalem and Aden.

[15] Including about 10,000 Beni-Israel in Bombay and surroundings, and about 1500 black Jews in Cochin.

[16] Comprises only native Jews. European Jews number : French Morocco 12,000, Spanish Morocco and Tangier 5000, Algiers 10,000, and Tunis 10,000.

[17] The South African Jewish Board of Deputies estimated, in 1937, the number of Jews at 95,000 ; the Jews formed 4 7 per cent of the *white* population.

[18] Falashas (black Jews).

[19] Estimate by Dr. M. Wischnitzer, Berlin.

[20] About 500 in Northern Rhodesia, 250 in Kenya.

TABLE II—*continued*

No	State	Total Population		Jewish Population			Estimated Number of Jews at the End of 1938
		Year	Number	Year	Number	% of Total Population	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	II. AMERICA						
1	United States	1930	122,775,046	1927	4,228,000 * [9]	3·5	4,700,000
2	Argentina	1935	12,402,068 *	1934	253,000 [10]	2·0	275,000
3	Canada	1931	10,376,786	1931	155,614	1·5	175,000
4	Brazil	1930	40,273,000	1935	50,000 *	0·1	55,000
5	Uruguay	1931	1,903,083	1935	20,000 *	0·5	25,000
6	Mexico	1930	16,522,722	1935	20,000 *	0·1	20,000
7	Cuba	1931	3,962,344	1933	7,800 *	0·2	10,000
8	Chile	1930	4,287,445	1935	9,000 *	0·9	10,000
9	Colombia	1928	7,851,000	1935	3,000 *	0 04	4,000
10	Peru	1936	6,500,000 *	1935	2,500 *	0·04	3,000
11	British Guiana	1931	310,933	1925	1,786 *	0·6	2,000
12	Jamaica	1935	1,121,823 *	1935	2,000 *	0·2	2,000
13	Dutch Guiana (Surinam)	1935	231,489	1934	800 *	0·4	1,000
14	Curaçao	1935	79,395	1933	566	0·7	1,000
15	Paraguay	1935	926,580 *	1935	1,000 *	0·01	1,000
16	Venezuela	1926	3,026,878	1926	882	0·03	1,000
17	Other Parts of America	..	..	..	..	..	1,000
					Total in America		5,286,000
	III. ASIA						
1	Palestine	1931	1,035,154	1931	175,006	16·9	440,000 [11]
2	Asiatic Russia	1926	30,980,865	1926	109,851	0·4	130,000
3	Iraq	1934	3,561,000	1934	100,000 *	2·8	100,000
4	Iran	1935	15,000,000 *	1935	50,000 [12]	0·3	50,000
5	Syria and Lebanon	1935	3,630,000	1932	16,588 [13]	0·5	15,000
6	Yemen	1935	1,000,000 *	1935	50,000 [14]	5·0	50,000
7	Asiatic Turkey	1935	14,935,000	1927	30,146	0·2	25,000
8	India	1931	352,837,778	1931	24,141 [15]	0·0	25,000
9	China	1936	422,707,868 *	1935	9,000 *	0·0	9,000
10	Manchukuo	1934	30,504,689 *	1934	8,000	0·0	8,000
11	Afghanistan	1935	7,000,000 *	1935	5,000 *	0·1	5,000
12	Aden	1931	48,338	1931	4,000 *	8·8	5,000

13	Japan	1935	99,354,281	1930	2,000 *	0·0	2,000
14	Philippines	1935	13,264,000	1934	500 *	0·0	1,000
15	Straits Settlements	1931	1,114,012	1931	1,000 *	0·1	1,000
16	Netherlands Indies	1930	60,727,233	1930	1,095	0·0	1,000
17	French Indo-China	1936	23,030,000 *	1936	1,000 *	0·0	1,000
					Total in Asia		868,000
	IV. AFRICA						
1	French Morocco	1936	6,242,706	1936	161,312 [16]	2·5	175,000
2	Spanish Morocco and Tangier	1934	855,202 *	1934	19,918 [16]	2·3	25,000
3	Algiers	1936	7,234,684	1931	110,127 [16]	1·5	130,000
4	British South Africa	1936	9,588,665	1926	71,816	0·9	100,000 [17]
5	Tunis	1936	2,608,313	1936	56,248 [16]	2·3	70,000
6	Egypt	1937	15,904,525	1927	63,550	0·4	70,000
7*a*	Tripoli } Libya	1936	} 890,000	1931	21,342	} 2·8	22,000
7*b*	Cyrenaica }	1936	}	1931	3,192	}	3,000
8	Abyssinia (Ethiopia)	1935	5,500,000 *	1935	10,000 *	0·2	10,000 [18]
9	Southern Rhodesia	1935	1,289,000 *	1935	2,500 [19]	0·2	3,000
10	Other Parts of Africa	..	..	..	..	..	1,000 [20]
					Total in Africa		609,000
	V. AUSTRALASIA						
1	Australia	1933	6,629,839	1933	2,353	0·4	26,000
2	New Zealand	1936	1,573,810	1926	2,591	0·2	4,000
					Total in Australasia		30,000
					Total in the whole world		16,717,000

* Estimated.

[9] According to H. S. Lindfield (*The Jews in the United States*, New York, 1927). Since 1927 there has been a Jewish immigration of about 90,000 and a natural increase of about 380,000.

[10] According to Dr Simon Weil, Director of the Jewish Colonization Association in Buenos Aires.

[11] The Palestine Government estimated the number of Jews at the end of 1938 at 411,222, and the total settled population at 1,368,732 (besides 66,553 nomads) To the figure for the Jews there are to be added about 30,000 Jewish immigrants not officially registered, who arrived between 1931 and 1938. By June 1939 the Jewish population of Palestine was estimated at 450,000.

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[18] Falashas (black Jews).

[19] Estimate by Dr. M. Wischnitzer, Berlin.

[20] About 500 in Northern Rhodesia, 250 in Kenya.

In 1800 there were in reality only two Jewish centres, the Near East with 40 per cent of the total and the former Polish territories with 44 per cent. Today the Jews have spread throughout the world, and new Jewish centres have come into existence in many countries in which in 1800, and even in 1880, there were scarcely any Jews. This development has provided new room for the Jews to live and has made it possible for their number to increase from 2,500,000 to 16,700,000; at the same time it has made the Jews much more vulnerable to assimilation and anti-Semitism.

For the following reasons it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of the Jews (according to religion) at a given date on the basis of the official census figures:

(1) In various countries, such as Iran, Yemen, Brazil, no census at all has so far been taken.
(2) In some other countries, for instance, Great Britain, France, Belgium, the United States, and the Argentine, the census does not indicate the religion of the inhabitants.
(3) The last census available was not carried out in the same year in all countries, but in different years during the period 1921–36.

We therefore have either to rely entirely on estimates, as in cases (1) and (2), or to complete the last census figures by estimates mainly based on data regarding natural increase and migration since the last census, in order to assess the number of Jews in every country at the end of 1938. These numbers are given in Table II in column 7. The figures for total population given in column 3 are generally based on the last official census; estimates are marked by an asterisk.

As sources for estimates, the following have been used:

(1) For the total population—the *Statistical Year-Book of*

the League of Nations, 1937–38 (Geneva, 1938); *The Statesman's Year-Book*, 1938 (London, 1938).

(2) For the Jewish population—*The American Jewish Year-Book*, 5699 (1938/39) (Philadelphia, 1938); *The Jewish Year-Book*, 1939 (London, 1939); other sources, as indicated in each case in the annotations.

The Jews are distributed among the continents as follows:

		Percentage of all Jews
Europe	9,924,000	59·3
America	5,286,000	31·7
Asia	868,000	5·2
Africa	609,000	3·6
Australia and New Zealand	30,000	0·2
	16,717,000	100·0

The countries with the largest Jewish population (end of 1938) are:

United States of America	4,700,000
Poland	3,345,000
Soviet Union (in Europe and Asia)	3,180,000
Roumania	800,000
Hungary	480,000
Germany (including Austria)	475,000
Palestine	440,000
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	370,000
Czechoslovakia	315,000

The remaining States have fewer than 300,000 Jews. The first three States above harbour between them about two-thirds of the Jews of the world.

2. Percentage of Jews in the total population

Column 6 of Table II gives the percentage of Jews in the total population of each country on the basis of the

latest census or estimate. In Palestine the Jews formed 16·9 per cent of the population according to the census of 1931 and 30·3 per cent according to the estimate for the end of 1938. Except for Palestine, and for Carpatho-Russia, with 14·1 per cent, the proportion of Jews in the total population does not exceed 10 per cent in any country. In Poland, the Ukraine, White Russia, Roumania, and Hungary, in Aden and Gibraltar (both urban areas), and on the island of Rhodes, it is from 4 to 10 per cent; in Danzig, Memel, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the United States, the Argentine, Iraq, Yemen, Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli, from 2 to 4 per cent. In all other countries the percentage is less than 2, and in most of them less than 1. Countries where there are next to no Jews (less than 1 per 1000) are: Spain, Portugal, India, China, Manchukuo, Japan, the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, and French Indo-China.

The percentage of Jews shows considerable regional variations within each country. In the Union of Soviet Republics in 1926 the Jews formed 8·2 per cent in White Russia and 5·4 per cent in the Ukraine, but only 0·7 per cent in Central Russia and 0·4 per cent in Asiatic Russia.

In Poland in 1931 the percentage of Jews was highest in the province of Lodz (14·4 per cent), and ranged from 7·6 to 12·8 in the other provinces which formerly belonged to Russia or Austria-Hungary; in the former Prussian Upper Silesia it fell to 1·5, and in Posnania and Pomerania to 0·3 per cent. In Czechoslovakia (before partition) the Carpatho-Russian region had 14·1 per cent of Jews, Slovakia 4·1 per cent, and Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia only 1·1 to 1·2 per cent.

In the United States, in 1927, 83·5 per cent of all the Jews lived in the nine States of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illi-

nois, Michigan, and Ohio. In these States are situated the large towns which the Jews prefer — New York, Buffalo, Detroit, Boston, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Cleveland, and Chicago. In New York State the Jews formed 16·7 per cent of the population; New York City had a Jewish population of about 2,000,000, making about one-third of its inhabitants. There were more than 5 per cent of Jews in the States of New Jersey (6·0), Connecticut (5·6), and Massachusetts (5·3). In the remaining States of the Union, in which 16·5 per cent of the United States Jews lived, they formed less than 5 per cent of the population, and in most of these States less than 1 per cent. The smallest percentage (0·2) was in Idaho, Montana, and South Dakota.

3. Distribution according to economic and cultural levels

The distribution of the Jews between so many countries has a pronounced effect on their economic and cultural life. Everywhere, except in Palestine, they form only a small minority among the population, and can therefore influence the economic structure and cultural standard of their surroundings only to a very limited degree; the Jews have to accept them and adapt themselves to them.

About 52 per cent of the Jews in the world live in countries in which more than two-thirds of the population are agrarian, 11 per cent in countries with one- to two-thirds, and 37 per cent in countries with less than one-third of agrarian population. During recent decades the Jews have moved increasingly from agrarian or partly agrarian to industrial countries, which implies a transition from retail trade and handicrafts to wholesale trade and industry, and from villages and small towns to great cities. This process is continuing.

Culturally, the countries inhabited by the Jews may be divided broadly as follows :

A. Western and Central Europe with 13·5 per cent of the world total of Jews.
B. North America and the British Dominions with 29·9 per cent.
C. South America and other oversea countries with 2·4 per cent.
D. Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and Siberia with 46·0 per cent.
E. Countries of the Near East with 8·2 per cent.

The first two of these groups comprise countries of higher culture than the third, and a good deal higher than the fourth and fifth. While in 1880 only 17 per cent and in 1900 only 24·5 per cent of the Jews of the world lived in the regions of higher culture, by 1939 the percentage had risen to 43·4. Since the War the countries of Eastern Europe and the Near East have made considerable progress in popular education and in their general cultural level ; the Jews are thus coming increasingly into environments of higher culture. This is important in connexion with the assimilation of the Jews to their environment, since the higher the general cultural level the more rapidly assimilation proceeds. This process could be studied on a small scale in Czechoslovakia : to travel from the culturally backward east (Carpatho-Russia) to the highly developed west of the country (Bohemia) was to make acquaintance in a few hours with all the stages of Jewish cultural progress in Europe from the fifteenth to the twentieth century, with the Carpatho-Russian Jews still living entirely in the past Jewish tradition and the Jews of Bohemia entirely assimilated.

4. Distribution by linguistic areas

The wholesale migrations of the Jews in recent years have taken them mainly to countries of English speech. Consequently a much larger proportion of the Jews will

now be found in English-speaking countries than fifty years ago. The distribution of Jews by linguistic areas is shown below, those countries where several languages are spoken being classed according to the State language, or the language of the majority:

		Per Cent
Polish	3,325,000	19·9
Russian (European and Asiatic Russia)	3,180,000	19·0
Other Slav languages (Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Bulgarian, etc.)	460,000	2·8
Total in countries of Slav language	6,965,000	41·7
English	5,410,000	32·4
Arabic	1,097,000	6·6
Roumanian	800,000	4·8
German	504,000	3·0
Magyar	460,000	2·8
Spanish and Portuguese	414,000	2·5
French	353,000	2·1
Lithuanian	165,000	1·0
Dutch	120,000	0·7
Latvian	95,000	0·6
Turkish	75,000	0·4
Greek	75,000	0·4
Persian and Afghan	55,000	0·3
Italian	54,000	0·3
Other languages	75,000	0·4
	16,717,000	100·0

Thus 41·7 per cent of world-Jewry lives in Slav-speaking and 32·4 per cent in English-speaking countries. The table does not, of course, refer to the languages spoken by the Jews,[1] but to those of the countries in which they live. In many places, as in Germany, the speech of their surroundings is also the exclusive speech of the Jews. Typical of others is Poland, where three-quarters of the Jews normally speak Yiddish, while one-quarter have adopted Polish. In the United States most of the second generation

[1] For these see Chapter XIII.

of immigrant families, and all of the third, have adopted the language of the country, while the majority of the first generation adhere to Yiddish. In some places, as in Carpatho-Russia, the Jews still speak Yiddish almost exclusively. But commercial needs and compulsory schooling facilitate the acquisition of the language of the country, to which it may be anticipated that in the future Yiddish will steadily give place. To that extent the table gives a picture of the future linguistic composition of Jewry.

Hebrew is in a special position ; it had virtually ceased to be a living language, when at the end of the nineteenth century it was resuscitated by the Jews in Palestine for everyday intercourse. Since then a Hebrew educational system has been set up among the Jews in Palestine, and Hebrew has even spread to some extent to Eastern Europe. By a law of 1920 Hebrew is recognized in Palestine as a language of the country, alongside English and Arabic. It is spoken in Palestine by about 400,000 Jews, and in Eastern Europe (in Zionist circles) by perhaps 200,000.

CHAPTER III

MIGRATIONS

1. Causes and character

The migrations of the Jews in the Diaspora are distinguished from the early mass migrations of other peoples by the fact that the Jews did not march into new territory in serried ranks and militarily occupy it, but arrived singly or in small groups, and had no force with which to conquer for themselves land already held by other races. Thus they had no conquered soil to farm; and as non-members of the autochthonous tribes they could not acquire land by purchase: the land was, indeed, usually tribal property. The Jews thus remained landless. And as status within the community depended on ownership of land, the original inhabitants looked upon the Jews as aliens, a circumstance which has operated against the Jews down to our own day, finding recent expression in the Nazi anti-Semitic catchphrase "Blood and soil".

The only occupations open to the Jews in their new countries, apart from trading, were the handicrafts connected with the preparation and preservation of the goods they sold. Trading and these handicrafts were occupations with which they had been familiar in the Near East, and by carrying them on they filled a gap in the economic life of their new countries, in which trade and handicrafts were as yet undeveloped. This explains why, throughout the first millennium of the Christian era, the Jews were

welcomed by the rulers of the European countries to which they migrated. In most cases they were not subject to the laws of the country, but acquired special privileges from the sovereigns and were allowed to live according to their own code.

It was only in the second millennium, with the rise of a Christian trading class, that instead of welcome guests they gradually became troublesome competitors. They were forced to migrate from countries in which they were subjected to strong political or economic pressure into countries where the pressure was less. From that time the migrations of the Jews have become a permanent element of their history; they may be looked upon as a necessary adaptation of their territorial distribution to the changing political and economic conditions of their environment, like the migrations of hunting or pastoral peoples to new and better hunting or grazing grounds.

After the Crusades, trade was taken out of the hands of the Jews by the Christians in the cities of Western and Central Europe, with the assistance of the city magistrates. The Jews then migrated to Poland, not so much because the Polish kings granted them a better legal status as because no indigenous trading class yet existed in Poland, so that the Jews could continue the occupations which had been torn from them in Western and Central Europe. A second great wave of emigration was caused by the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492). The exiles went principally to Turkey, whose Sultans received them kindly. Some stopped on their way there, settling in France, Italy, Southern Germany, and Bohemia.

Until well into the eighteenth century the migrations of the Jews in Europe were directed from the more highly developed regions of the West to less developed regions in the East — regions which were only beginning to be opened up to civilization by pioneering colonists, and in which no

indigenous trading class yet existed. At the end of the eighteenth century the direction of the stream of migration began to be reversed. The Jews of Posen, West Prussia, and Galicia, who had been brought under Prussian or Austrian rule by the partitions of Poland, began to leave their homes and to go westwards into the large towns in the other parts of Prussia and Austria. The improvement of communications, and especially the construction of railways, was depriving the small towns, in which the Jews had previously lived, of their commercial importance, and transferring trade more and more to the large towns.

About the middle of the nineteenth century there began the greatest and most important migration in the history of the Jews — the migration from Russia, Galicia, and Roumania to Central and Western Europe and overseas, especially to the United States. This migration was due mainly to the fact that in Russia, in the course of the nineteenth century, the improvement in sanitary conditions resulted in a much greater natural increase of the Jews, and there was no room for their growing numbers in the "Pale of Settlement" assigned to them.[1] The number of Jews in this region had risen between 1800 and 1880 from 800,000 to five times that figure, and it proved impossible for a great many of these to gain a living at the occupations open to them in Tsarist Russia. Their emigration to the United States was preceded by the emigration of Jews from Germany (Southern Germany and the province of Posen), whose hopes of emancipation had been disappointed by the reaction that followed the Revolution of 1848. The emigration from Eastern Europe grew enormously after 1881, the date of the first Russian pogroms and

[1] The "Pale of Settlement" was created by Russian legislation at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and comprised ten formerly Polish provinces and fifteen neighbouring Russian provinces. Outside this region only certain privileged classes of Jews, amounting to scarcely 5 per cent of the Jews in Russia, were permitted to live.

of the definite adoption by the Russian Government of an anti-Semitic policy, which made the Jews in Russia despair of their future. Suddenly all the hesitation that had held men back was thrown to the winds, and a mass flight began, growing from year to year, which took millions of Jews out of Russia.

This emigration from Russia also impinged on other countries of Eastern Europe, in which the state of the Jews was little if any better, with a similar natural increase and a similar restriction of economic opportunities. This was the case both in Galicia, then a province of Austria, and in Roumania. In Galicia the Jews had been emancipated, but owing to the great poverty of the country their condition was if possible even worse than in Russia. In Roumania, in spite of the promise given at the Berlin Congress of 1878, the Government withheld emancipation from the Jews and left them with no political security.

2. Migrations in modern times

Between 1800 and 1880 the number of Jews in the United States, the main destination of Jewish emigrants, rose from 10,000 to 230,000, the average yearly immigration being only a few thousands. Between 1881 and 1899 the yearly average reached 30,000, and between 1900 and 1914 it exceeded 100,000. Adding the emigration to other oversea countries (Canada, South America, South Africa) and to Palestine and Central and Western Europe, we arrive at an estimate of the total Jewish emigration of 4,475,000, viz.:

250,000	between	1800	and	1880
1,000,000	,,	1881	,,	1899
2,000,000	,,	1900	,,	1914
725,000	,,	1915	,,	1930
500,000[1]	,,	1931	,,	1937

Seeing that in 1900 the total number of Jews in the whole

[1] This figure includes 250,000 emigrants from Germany and Austria.

of Eastern Europe amounted to no more than 6,500,000, it will be seen to what an enormous extent these Jews were affected by the wave of emigration.

TABLE III

JEWISH MIGRATION FROM 1800 TO 1930

Destination	Countries of Origin					
	Russia	Austria-Hungary (from 1920 Poland)	Roumania	Great Britain	Other Countries	Total
United States	1,749,000	597,000	161,000	114,000	264,000	2,885,000
Canada	70,000	40,000	5,000	..	10,000	125,000
Argentine	100,000	40,000	20,000	..	20,000	180,000
Brazil	6,000	10,000	4,000	..	10,000	30,000
Other South and Central American countries	5,000	10,000	5,000	..	10,000	30,000
Total for America	1,930,000	697,000	195,000	114,000	314,000	3,250,000
Great Britain	130,000	40,000	30,000	..	10,000	210,000
Germany	25,000	75,000	..	..	..	100,000
France	40,000	40,000	..	..	20,000	100,000
Belgium	15,000	30,000	..	..	5,000	50,000
Switzerland, Italy, and Scandinavian countries	30,000	..	..	..	..	30,000
Total for Western and Central Europe	240,000	185,000	30,000	..	35,000	490,000
South Africa	45,000	10,000	..	..	5,000	60,000
Egypt	20,000	10,000	..	..	5,000	35,000
Total for Africa	65,000	20,000	..	..	10,000	95,000
Palestine *	45,000	40,000	10,000	..	25,000	120,000
Australia and New Zealand	5,000	10,000	..	..	5,000	20,000
Total	2,285,000	952,000	235,000	114,000	389,000	3,975,000

* From 1931 to the end of 1938 a further 220,000 Jewish immigrants entered Palestine.

Table III shows the number, country of origin, and destination of the Jewish emigrants in the period from 1800 to 1930; Table IV shows the annual immigration under

TABLE IV

FIGURES AND DESTINATION OF JEWISH MIGRATION SINCE 1921

Year	United States [1]	Palestine	Argentine	Canada	Brazil	South Africa	Uruguay	Cuba	Other Oversea Countries [2]	Other Countries (in Central and Western Europe)	Total (in round figures)
1921	119,036	8,517	4,095	2,763	500*	500*	..	..	1,000*	5,000*	141,000
1922	53,524	9,481	7,198	8,404	1,000*	500*	..	500*	1,000*	5,000*	87,000
1923	49,719	9,478	13,701	2,793	1,000*	500*	..	1,000*	1,500*	5,000*	85,000
1924	49,989	16,297	7,799	4,255	1,500*	773	..	1,500*	2,000*	3,000*	87,000
1925	10,292	36,933	6,920	4,459	2,624	1,353	..	2,000*	2,000*	2,000*	67,000
1926	10,267	14,656	7,534	4,014	3,906	1,479	500*	2,000*	1,500*	3,000*	49,000
1927	11,483	3,450	5,584	4,863	5,167	1,752	771	1,000*	1,500*	4,000*	40,000
1928	11,639	2,001	6,812	4,766	4,055	2,293	1500*	500*	1,000*	5,000*	40,000
1929	12,479	5,249	5,986	3,848	5,610	2,788	2000*	476	1,000*	6,000*	46,000
1930	11,526	4,944	7,805	4,164	3,558	1,881	1600*	1,374	1,000*	5,000*	43,000
1921/30	339,954	111,006	73,434	44,329	28,920	13,819	6,371	10,350	13,500*	43,000*	685,000
1931	5,692	4,075	3,553	3,421	1,940	885	2,500*	208	1,000	4,000*	27,000
1932	2,755	9,553 [3]	1,801	649	2,049	676	1,500*	165	1,000	4,000*	25,000
1933	2,372	30,527 [3]	1,962	772	3,317	745	1,000*	197	1,000	30,000 [4]	72,000
1934	4,134	42,359 [3]	2,215	943	4,010	1,123	2,500*	612	1,000	5,000*	64,000
1935	4,837	61,854 [3]	3,169	624	1,759	1,059	1,000*	403	1,000	6,000*	81,000
1936	6,252	29,727 [3]	4,261	880	3,450	3,330	2,500*	338	3,000*	3,000*	57,000
1937	11,352	10,536 [3]	3,000*	500*	2,000*	954	1,000*	500	3,000*	4,000*	37,000
1938	19,736	12,900 [3]	3,000*	500*	2,000*	1,000*	1,000*	500*	9,000*	90,000*	140,000

* Estimates.

[1] The year 1921 is for the United States the financial year from July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1921. The figures do not include those Jewish immigrants whose culture and ordinary language makes them ethnically members of the nation of their country of origin. The Jewish immigrants from Germany, for instance, are not registered as "Hebrews" but as Germans. For this reason the total of Jewish immigrants into the United States is higher than that shown in the official statistics.

[2] The other oversea countries include
Mexico, with about 6000 Jewish immigrants in 1921–30
Australia " " 3000 " " " "
Egypt " " 3000 " " " "
Shanghai " " 5000 " " " 1938.

[3] These figures include only the officially registered immigrants. The actual total is probably 10-15 per cent higher.

[4] This figure includes some 25,000 refugees from Germany and other European countries.

countries between 1921 and 1938. It will be seen that the immigration varies considerably from year to year. Apart from the post-War restrictions of immigration in many countries, the variations are connected with the political and economic situation of the Jews in their countries of origin and with their economic situation in the countries of their adoption. Emigration was at its height when political persecution was growing in the countries of origin while the economic situation in the receiving countries was good, so that the Jews already living there were able to save money, to buy passages for their relatives in Eastern Europe, and to persuade them to leave.[1] The year of maximum emigration was 1906, when some 200,000 Jews emigrated, 154,000 of them to the United States.

The Great War put a temporary stop to emigration, but immediately afterwards there was a fresh start, and in 1921 the total of Jewish emigrants reached 141,000. This figure, or even a higher one, would certainly have been maintained if legislative restrictions in the United States, and afterwards in other countries as well, had not brought it down. The first restricting Act was passed in the United States in 1921, and as a consequence of it the immigration fell in 1922 to less than half of the 1921 figure. This first law was followed in 1924 by the Quota Act, under which the maximum yearly number of immigrants permissible for each country of origin is limited to 2 per cent of the number of people from that country who were recorded at the 1890 census as living in the United States, while the total immigration quota must not exceed 153,000 a year. The Government was left to determine what portion of the maximum figure should be admitted each year. The

[1] Re-emigration of Jews from the United States was very small, and relatively much smaller than in the case of immigrants of other nationalities. It amounted to 52,930 between 1908 and 1926, and to 3077 between 1927 and 1936.

object was to prevent immigrants from countries of low culture and standard of living from arriving in excessive numbers, and to maintain as far as possible the racial composition of the population as it was in 1890, when it consisted mainly of British, Irish, and other Western and Northern Europeans. The consequence of the Act was that the number of Jewish immigrants, which up to 1924 still amounted to about 50,000 yearly, fell to 10,000, and to still lower figures from 1931 on (see Table IV). Only since 1934 has there been a slight increase; the American Government, which up to then had actually admitted only a portion of the permissible quota, relaxed this practice as regards Jewish immigrants from Germany. From July 1, 1937, to June 30, 1938, the number of Jewish immigrants admitted into the United States from Germany totalled 11,404 (in the previous year only 6750 were admitted), with a further 513 from Austria. This has greatly changed the composition of the Jewish immigration into the United States as regards countries of origin. In 1921 62·8 per cent of the Jewish immigrants came from Poland, and only 0·7 per cent from Germany, but in 1937–38 the proportion was reversed: of the 19,736 Jewish immigrants only 1653, or 8·4 per cent, came from Poland, and 11,917, or 60·4 per cent, from Germany (including Austria).

The total numbers of Jewish emigrants from Poland and Roumania, according to official statistics of those countries, were as follows:

Country of Origin	Year	Number of Jewish Emigrants	Number of these who went to Palestine	Proportion of Jews among All Emigrants (Christian and Jewish) from the Country
				Per Cent
Poland . .	1936	17,003	10,605	31·2
„ . .	1937	8,856	2,854	8·2
„ . .	1938	9,236	2,514	7·2
Roumania .	1935	1,836	..	75·8

Jewish emigration from Germany was estimated at a total of 47,000 in 1936–1937; from Germany and Austria together at 120,000 in 1938. Of these latter a large proportion remained for the time as "refugees" in neighbouring countries, without any permanent right of domicile. Germany, the territories of the former Czechoslovakia, and Poland are at present the principal sources of Jewish emigration; Roumania and the other countries of Eastern Europe follow, with a much smaller contribution.

The world-wide economic depression which began in 1929, and the growth of anti-Semitic tendencies in many countries, have led almost all countries receiving immigrants to restrict immigration on much the same lines as the United States. In Brazil the quota system was introduced in 1937: not more than 2 per cent of the total number of immigrants from each country in the fifty years from 1884 to 1933 may be admitted yearly. This makes the yearly quota (Christians and Jews together) from Poland only 2035, from Roumania 760, from Germany 4772. A further difficulty is the regulation that at least 80 per cent from each country must be agriculturists. In 1938 no more than 107 Polish Jews emigrated to Brazil. In Mexico, too, the quota system was established by law in 1937, with an allowance of only 100 apiece for Poland, Roumania, and other Eastern European countries. This amounts to the suspension of immigration into Mexico from Eastern Europe. The immigration law passed in South Africa in 1937 makes immigration dependent on special permission in each individual case; this permission is by no means lavishly given, especially in the case of Eastern Europeans. Stateless persons are generally excluded. The Argentine admits, with very few exceptions, only relatives of Jews already living in the country, and from Poland it admitted in 1938 only 2175 Jews. Canada admits only experienced Jewish agriculturists with at least

1000 dollars owned by themselves and their family. In Cuba, Uruguay, Paraguay, Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, and Chile the laws have been altered so that there is no longer any possibility of immigration to any extent, either of Jews or of Christians, from Eastern Europe. A few countries offer limited opportunities of immigration, such as Australia and San Domingo, and the United States and Palestine are the only countries that receive Jewish immigration on any considerable scale.

The explanation of the rise in the figures after 1932 (see Table IV), when the total of Jewish emigrants fell to 25,000, the lowest point since 1880, is that in the years 1933 to 1936 Palestine received an annual average of 40,000 Jewish immigrants. This kept the annual emigration figure for these years in the neighbourhood of 70,000. In 1937, however, the number of immigrants into Palestine was reduced to 10,000, and the total of Jewish emigration fell again to about 37,000. In 1938 this figure jumped to 140,000, on account of the precipitated or compulsory emigration from Germany (including Austria) to other European countries. Most of these emigrants were received only for temporary shelter, and are expected to re-emigrate overseas within a short time. They constitute a new type of refugees. (See below.)

The closing of the United States and the other countries to large-scale Jewish immigration has seriously affected the economic situation of the Jews in Eastern Europe. Until the Great War, emigration acted as a safety-valve, which gave the Jews an outlet in bad times. It is mainly the impossibility of large-scale emigration that has made the situation of the Jews in Eastern Europe more and more acute since the War.

Especially serious in recent years is the situation of those Jews who have emigrated, or who will very soon have to emigrate, from Nazi Germany, without having

found a permanent abode elsewhere. The number of the emigrants from the "Old Reich" (Germany without Austria) between 1933 and the end of 1938 amounted to about 140,000, and up to August 1939 to 200,000. To this figure must be added about 90,000 Jews who were forced to leave Austria after the *Anschluss* and about 20,000 refugees from Czechoslovak territory. Out of the total of 310,000 about 65,000 found a new home in Palestine; 20,000 of Polish nationality returned to Poland, and 100,000 settled in Western Europe or overseas. Of these last, 60,000 went to the United States and 18,000 to Shanghai, where no visa was required. In August 1939 further immigration into Shanghai was prohibited by the Japanese. The remaining 125,000 have found temporary shelter in various countries of Europe—

45,000 in Great Britain,
25,000 in Holland,
25,000 in France,
15,000 in Belgium,
10,000 in Switzerland, and
5,000 in other countries.

In Great Britain, Belgium, and Holland special camps have been provided for the shelter and training of these refugees. From £10,000,000 to £15,000,000 has been spent by philanthropic institutions on the relief of refugees between 1933 and 1938.

There are also several hundred thousand Jews who can no longer maintain themselves in Germany under the Nazi régime because they have been deprived of their livelihood, but who cannot make a start elsewhere because this requires capital and the German Government does not allow them to take their assets with them. Only for emigration to Palestine did the German Government permit, until 1938, a more or less satisfactory method of transferring assets in the form of goods, authorizing the formation of a special

Jewish company, "Haavara", for this purpose. No practicable method of this sort existed for the emigrant to any other country.

The desperate position of the refugees (Jews, baptized Jews, and half-Jews) became so obvious that in April 1938 President Roosevelt invited a large number of States to attend a conference to discuss this refugee problem. The conference took place at Evian in July 1938, and was attended by the representatives of 32 States. The representative of the United States declared that his Government was prepared to go to the limit of the annual quota for immigration from Germany and Austria, which permits some 27,000 to enter. Australia declared (after the conference) that it was willing to receive a total of 15,000 immigrants from Germany in three years, though only if their support was assured by guarantees or they possessed at least £200 and had an occupation suitable for Australia. Most of the other countries were much more cautious. They pointed out that, as they had a large number of unemployed of their own, they could not give employment to fresh immigrants, except in agriculture. As a result of the conference, a Permanent Inter-governmental Committee was set up in London, to negotiate for the admission of Jewish immigrants from Germany by other countries, and also to enter into communication with the German Government on the question of the transfer of the assets of these immigrants. Up to August 1939, however, the Committee had received no acceptable proposals from the German Government in regard to the release of these assets. Nor had it succeeded in discovering new opportunities of immigration, though negotiations were proceeding with San Domingo, Northern Rhodesia, the Philippines, and British Guiana,[1] and a

[1] See Sir John Hope Simpson's Report on Refugees (London, 1938), and the Report of the High Commissioner for Refugees to the League of Nations, July 24, 1939.

special "Co-ordinating Foundation" with a capital of £200,000 was about to be established for the purpose of assisting the settlement of refugees.

In succession to the former Nansen office (which took charge of stateless fugitives, especially from Russia), and to the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany, who was appointed in 1933, a new High Commissioner for Refugees was appointed by the League of Nations in 1938, with headquarters in London. The High Commissioner (Sir Herbert Emerson) assumed office on January 1, 1939, his task being to secure political and legal protection for refugees. He is to work in close connexion with the Permanent Inter-governmental Committee. The basic authority for his activities is the Conventions of 1933 and of February 1938, under which a number of States Members of the League undertook to offer protection to refugees within their territory.

In the past the United States has been the principal destination of Jewish emigrants, but other countries, such as Palestine, Canada, the Argentine, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Australia, have also admitted a considerable number. The magnitude of this immigration can best be seen from the growth of the Jewish population in these countries, a growth in which natural increase has played a relatively unimportant part. Table V shows that countries which, at the beginning of the Jewish mass emigration in 1880, had scarcely any Jewish inhabitants, in 1938 were harbouring an imposing total; thus the Jewish population at the end of 1938 was:

Palestine . . .	440,000
Argentine . .	275,000
Canada . . .	175,000
South Africa . .	100,000
Brazil . .	55,000

In Palestine, the Argentine, and Brazil, and to a small

TABLE V

Growth of the Jewish Population in Oversea Countries

Year	Approximate Number of Jews at the End of Each Year in —											
	United States	Canada	Argentine	Brazil	Uruguay	Chile	Cuba	Mexico	South Africa	Palestine	Egypt	Australia and New Zealand
1800	2,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	..	..
1850	50,000	500	..	..	..	.	1,000	..	500	12,000	..	..
1880	230,000	2,400	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,000	25,000	..	..
1890	500,000	6,400	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	15,000	35,000	..	..
1900	1,000,000	16,400	30,000	3,000	..	..	3,000	1,000	30,000	55,000	27,000	16,000
1910	2,200,000	70,000	90,000	5,000	..	1,000	..	2,000	45,000	80,000	40,000	18,000
1920	3,200,000	120,000	130,000	7,000	1,000	2,000	4,000	..	60,000	75,000	60,000	24,000
1930	4,400,000	150,000	230,000	40,000	10,000	5,000	9,000	10,000	82,000	170,000	65,000	..
1933	4,500,000	160,000	245,000	45,000	20,000	7,000	9,000	15,000	85,000	240,000	70,000	27,000
1938	4,700,000	175,000	275,000	55,000	25,000	10,000	10,000	20,000	100,000	440,000	75,000	30,000

extent also in Canada, an agricultural colonization scheme started by large Jewish organizations prepared the way for further immigration ; in the other countries the immigration was from the first of an urban character. The immigrants into the South American countries and Palestine were not only Jews from Eastern Europe (Ashkenazim) but also Sephardic Jews from the Balkans, Asia Minor, and North Africa, who formed separate Sephardic communities in the Argentine, Brazil, and Cuba.

In addition to the oversea countries and Palestine, European countries have admitted considerable numbers of immigrants. From 1850, and especially after 1881, Jews from Eastern Europe came to Germany, Western Austria, France, Belgium, England, and in a less degree to Italy, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and Holland. The number of foreign-born Jews in Germany amounted in 1933 to about 100,000. In France, Great Britain, and Belgium, the present Jewish population consists mainly of these immigrants or their children. The emigration from Eastern Europe and Nazi Germany to the Central and Western European countries may be estimated at 700,000 between 1881 and 1938. These immigrants went mainly to the capital cities ; and Paris, London, and Antwerp, which had previously had relatively few Jews, became the homes of great Jewish communities. In the last decade the emigration from Eastern Europe to Central and Western Europe has been much less. From 1926 to 1936 the Jewish emigrants from Poland to European countries numbered in all only 18,069, or only 9·9 per cent of the Jewish emigrants from Poland to countries outside Europe (181,798).[1] France has admitted not only Jews from Eastern Europe but Sephardic Jews from North Africa, Asia Minor, and Turkey. The number of Sephardic Jews in Paris today is said to exceed 50,000.

[1] Jan Zieminski, *Problem Emigracji Zydowskiej* (Warsaw, 1937), p. 73.

In comparison with the oversea migrations and those from Eastern Europe to Central and Western Europe, the migrations within countries are of far less importance. They have only happened on any considerable scale in those countries in which there have been local differences in economic development, and in which it was advantageous for the Jews to migrate from less developed to more highly developed districts. This was the case in Germany, where the Jews moved from the economically backward eastern provinces, especially Posen and Pomerania, to Berlin and the central and western industrial areas. The same thing happened in Russia, where after the revolution there was a great deal of migration from the predominantly agricultural areas of White Russia and the Ukraine into the industrial districts of the Ukraine, and especially to Central Russia. Certain Russian towns, which until 1917 had a comparatively small Jewish population, now have great numbers of Jews — Moscow 200,000, Kiev 150,000, Leningrad and Kharkov more than 100,000. In Central Russia, which lay outside the " Pale of Settlement " and in 1897 had only 200,000 Jews, there were more than a million in 1938. In Czechoslovakia there was a stream of Jews from the economically backward districts of Carpatho-Russia and Slovakia to Bohemia and Moravia, and especially to Prague, where the number of Jews rose from 25,000 in 1925 to some 40,000 in 1937. The cession of the Sudeten regions to Germany in October 1938 resulted in an exodus of more than 20,000 Jews from those regions into the other parts of Czechoslovakia, and to a still further increase in the number of Jews in Prague. The incorporation in March 1939 of Carpatho-Russia in Hungary, the separation of Slovakia, and the German protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, resulted in further internal migration and emigration. The German authorities in the " Protectorate " attempted to remove the Jews

from the provincial towns and to concentrate them in Prague.

3. THE SEARCH FOR NEW OUTLETS FOR EMIGRATION

The general position as regards the possibility of Jewish migration at the present day is that the countries which have been open to immigrants in the past are now accessible only to a very limited extent and only for definite categories of immigrants. Such categories are usually the near relatives of those who have already settled in the country, or persons who intend to devote themselves to agriculture and either have capital of their own or are receiving the necessary funds from Jewish organizations. In addition, in exceptional cases, Jews who have made their way as industrialists or scholars can obtain permission to enter. But the total of all these categories is very small. The one exception is the United States, where it has been decided, as mentioned above, that immigrants of German and Austrian birth may be admitted up to the full legal quota (about 27,000 yearly). In Palestine, in spite of internal disturbances, about 12,000 immigrants were received in each of the years 1937 and 1938, and a facultative quota of 15,000 annually was fixed, in May 1939, for the five years 1939–43.

The attempt to find new outlets has led as yet to little result. Colombia admitted some thousands of Jews in recent years, but this immigration has been stopped since 1938. New Caledonia, Rhodesia, Kenya, and British, Dutch, and French Guiana, are recommended from time to time by more or less authoritative quarters as suitable for Jewish immigrants, particularly for agriculturists. But all these proposals must be received with caution. The delegation which was sent to Madagascar in 1937, with the support of the Polish and French Governments, to examine the prospects for Jewish immigration, made an

unfavourable report. Similarly, proposals for agricultural settlement in South American or African countries have proved on closer investigation to be impracticable or exceedingly risky, or to involve extraordinary difficulties. Agricultural colonization, however desirable it may be in the long run in the interests of a change in the occupational structure of Jewry, cannot solve the present problem of the immediate large-scale transplantation of Jews. Agricultural colonization demands in the first place human material suited to physical labour, that is to say, especially men who ar young. It also demands considerable capital (usually not less than £1000 per family), and it can be started only on a small scale and gradually extended on the basis of experience gained. If we consider that the two countries in which Jewish agricultural colonization has been most energetically prosecuted, the Argentine and Palestine, have been able in the course of half a century to provide a living from agriculture for no more than 15,000 and 60,000 Jews respectively, it is obvious how impossible it is for agriculture to provide an immediate living for large masses of Jews.

In the course of time agricultural colonization may pave the way for a general immigration flowing into the towns. It is mainly owing to the establishment of agricultural settlements by the Jewish Colonization Association (J.C.A.) in the Argentine that that country was opened up to Jewish immigration, so that today, in addition to the 20,000 Jews in the agricultural settlements, there are a quarter of a million Jews in the towns. Similarly, without the 60,000 Jewish agriculturists in Palestine the immigration of 250,000 Jews engaged in urban occupations would not have been possible. Preference should therefore be given to agricultural colonization in those countries whose general economic structure offers a prospect of their being able later, in consequence of the colonization, to receive

large masses of immigrants of a non-agricultural character, as may be expected, for instance, in Brazil and Canada, with their vast spaces and great natural resources. Without some such prospect, agricultural settlement is far too costly and too doubtful of success to be a conceivable solution of the problem of the emigration of large masses of Jews.

The Jewish migrations of recent times attracted the attention of Jewry as a whole, with the result that assistance began to be organized. As early as 1888 the Hebrew Immigrants' Aid Society (Hias) was founded in New York by the American Jews, and this society continues to give advice and assistance to Jewish immigrants into the United States. Similar functions are performed for the Argentine by the " Soprotimis " societies in Buenos Aires, and for Brazil by the " Beneficiente " in Rio de Janeiro. In the countries of emigration the care of emigrants is undertaken by the Jewish Colonization Association (J.C.A.) in Paris, the Hilfsverein der Juden in Germany, the Council for German Jewry in London, the Jeas Society in Poland, and the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Germany, in addition to many local committees, and immigrants into the United States are cared for by the American Joint Distribution Committee. The central organization for Jewish emigration in the Diaspora is the Hicem, which has its headquarters in Paris and branches in almost all immigration countries. In 1938 it helped about 4400 Jews in the countries of emigration and the ports of immigration, at a cost of £98,000, which it obtained mainly in the form of grants from the J.C.A., the Council for German Jewry in London, and the American Joint Distribution Committee in New York.

Supervision over immigration into Palestine is exercised by the Palestine offices which have been set up in all the important countries of emigration; these offices are controlled from Jerusalem by the Jewish Agency for Palestine. A special feature of the immigration into

Palestine since 1933 has been the immigration of boys and girls from Germany of 15 to 17 years of age, who no longer have any chance of occupational training in Germany ; they are trained in Palestine in agriculture or in a trade. Up to August 1939 about 5000 children had been transferred from Germany to Palestine through the agency of a special institution, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kinder und Jugend-Aliyah[1] in Berlin (Children and Youth Aliyah, now in London); in Palestine they have made excellent progress, both physically and occupationally. Since the pogroms in Germany in November 1938 the efforts to transfer Jewish children from Germany to Palestine and other countries have been redoubled.

[1] The literal meaning of "aliyah" in Hebrew is "ascent", and the word is used, starting with the Exodus from Egypt, for Jewish migrations to Palestine.

CHAPTER IV

URBANIZATION

1. Vocation and domicile

In conformity with the general rule that vocation governs domicile, the Jews who came as merchants from the Near East to Europe settled in the centres of commerce — in the towns, which in Europe from the time of the early Middle Ages had served as markets for the exchange of products. It depended on the local economic development and on conditions of transport whether the Jews settled in all the towns of a country, even the smallest, or only in the larger ones. In the Middle Ages, when road transport was exceedingly difficult and waterways were the main arteries of trade, the Jews first settled in towns on navigable rivers, spreading thence into the rest of the country.

In some regions, as, for instance, in Eastern Europe, the roads remained bad until well into the nineteenth century, and every district, however small, needed its own market, in which the farmers could sell their products and buy their requirements. Here the Jews settled in large and small towns alike, and made a living. In Poland they were able to gain a footing even in the villages ; the large landowners, whose estates were cultivated by their tenants or serfs, possessed a monopoly of the production and sale of vodka, and farmed out the monopoly to a Jewish family in every village. This usually meant that there was only one Jewish family in each village, but the

villages were so numerous and the towns so few that the village Jews in the eighteenth century formed 27 per cent of all the Jews in Eastern and 43 per cent in Western Galicia. The deurbanization of the Jews was accentuated by the fact that the small towns in Poland are of a very different type from those in Central and Western European countries. In the latter the town was usually well planned, with open spaces and paved streets, and surrounded with walls. In Poland, on the other hand, when the Jews were expelled from the towns by the civic authorities, they settled hurriedly and haphazard on the domains of big landowners, who permitted them to stay. Thus there arose townships, urban in character so far as the occupations of their inhabitants (trade and handicraft) were concerned, but in lay-out and in the state of their roads little more than straggling villages. In these small towns a great part of the Jews in Poland lived until far into the nineteenth century.[1]

About the middle of the nineteenth century in Western and Central Europe, and about the end of that century in Eastern Europe, transport was revolutionized by the construction of good roads and of railways; the radius of trade was extended, and new traffic centres came into being. The Jews had to adapt themselves to this change, in order to retain as large a share as possible of the volume of trade; they therefore moved from the small towns into the larger towns and centres of traffic. This movement, although a universal concomitant of modern industrial development, set in earlier and more strongly in the case of the Jews. In some countries, such as Germany, this has led since 1900 to the disappearance of Jewish communities in many small towns.

[1] Similarly in Germany, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of the petty princes in Hesse and Baden allowed Jews who had been expelled from the towns by the magistrates to settle in their domains, and thus there arose market towns with a largely Jewish population.

In countries which Jewish immigrants entered after modern means of transport had been developed, as was the case in England, France, and the United States, they settled mainly in the cities, avoiding the smaller towns. And in those countries in which the capital city dominates economic life it exercised a special attraction on the immigrant Jews and absorbed a disproportionately large number of them.

2. Percentage of Jews among the urban population

The percentage of Jews in the towns [1] is everywhere much higher than that of non-Jews. For example, the percentage of town-dwellers —

in Germany in 1933 was 84·5 per cent for the Jews, and 49·5 per cent for the Christians;
in Poland in 1931 was 76·4 per cent for the Jews, and 22·1 per cent for the Christians;
in Roumania in 1930 was 69·0 per cent for the Jews, and 18·0 per cent for the Christians;
in Lithuania in 1935 was 92·6 per cent for the Jews, and 33·6 per cent for the Christians;
in Hungary in 1930 was 79·4 per cent for the Jews, and 40·3 per cent for the Christians;
in Czechoslovakia in 1930 was 50·82 per cent for the Jews, and 21·9 per cent for the Christians.

The extent to which the percentage of urban Jews varies with the economic development of a region is shown in the former Czechoslovakia, where the percentage in 1930 was 78·3 and 76·8 in the highly developed provinces of

[1] The distinction between village and town rests on administrative or historic grounds, differing from one country to another. The various countries are not properly comparable if we use the terms "village" and "town" of each without qualification. In Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary all places with more than 10,000 inhabitants are here regarded as towns. In Poland, Roumania, and Lithuania, in the absence of any other indication, the administrative description has been adopted.

Bohemia and Moravia, but only 35·5 in the economically backward Carpatho-Russia and 42·5 in Slovakia. In Carpatho-Russia 11·5 per cent of the Jews still lived in small hamlets with less than 1000 inhabitants.

In Poland, in 1931, the Jews formed nearly half the urban population in certain provinces; thus:

In Polesia	they were	49·2	per cent
„ Volhynia	„ „	49·1	„
„ Lublin	„ „	43·7	„
„ Bialystok	„ „	38·4	„

In no single province (apart from the districts which belonged to Prussia before 1918) did they form less than 24·8 per cent of the urban population. In all the towns of Poland taken together the percentage of Jews was 27·3. The Jewish appearance of many Polish towns is enhanced by the circumstance that the Jews have their shops in the chief thoroughfares (especially in the "rynek", the central market-place), and do a good deal of their business in the street.

In Soviet Russia the strong influx into the large towns from the villages and small towns, which started in 1917 and was clearly revealed by the census of 1926, has continued. In 1926 there were no more than 927,000 Jews living in small towns and 226,000 in villages, and estimates made in 1935 put the figures at 509,000 and 194,000 only. Thus, of the total Jewish population of European Russia, estimated in 1935 at 2,900,000, only 24·2 per cent still lived in small towns and villages. In 1897 fully 56·7 per cent lived in villages and small towns in the 15 Russian provinces of the pale of settlement. This migration to the larger towns has certainly assisted the Soviet Government in rapidly divorcing the Jews from their Jewish tradition, which was most firmly rooted in the small towns and villages.

In the Oriental countries, where lawlessness often exists,

increasing with distance from the seat of authority, the Jews live almost exclusively in the larger towns, and particularly in the seats of government. Thus, in 1931, of all the indigenous Jews in Tunisia, 25,399 or 45·2 per cent lived in the capital. (In the town of Ariana, with a population of 5144, the 2736 Jews form an actual majority.) In French Morocco, in 1936, 75,098 or 46·8 per cent of the 161,000 indigenous Jews lived in the three largest towns, Casablanca, Marrakesh, and Fez, forming 15·1, 13·5, and 7·3 per cent of the populations. In Iraq, more than 90 per cent of the Jews are concentrated in Bagdad, Basra, and Mosul, and in Egypt, in 1927, 93 per cent were in Alexandria and Cairo. Similar conditions exist in Syria and Iran. Palestine is an exception, the great agricultural colonization of the last fifty years having resulted in 24 per cent of the Jews living in agricultural colonies. But some of these colonies have over 10,000 inhabitants and enjoy extensive municipal rights.

In Germany and the United States, the preference of the Jews for the large towns can be seen from the fact that the percentage of Jews in the population increases with the size of the town. The percentage was, according to H. S. Lindfield[1]—

	In the United States in 1927	In Germany in 1933
In the capital (New York for U.S.A.)	About 30	3·8
In other towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants	5·2	1·2
In places with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	3·1	0·7
In places with 25,000 (in Germany 20,000) to 50,000		0·6
In places with 10,000 to 25,000 (in Germany 20,000)	1·8	0·4
In places with less than 10,000 inhabitants	0·6	0·2
In the whole country	3·5	0·8

[1] *American Jewish Year Book*, 5689 (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 101.

3. The drift into the capitals

The special attraction which the capital cities exercise on the Jews is apparent from Table VI. While the percentage of non-Jews living in the metropolis rises at its highest to 34·6 per cent (in Uruguay) and to 25·8 per cent (in Austria), and in general remains below 15 per cent, in the case of the Jews it rises to 100 per cent (Uruguay) or 92·9 per cent (Austria), and, with the exception of Poland (11·3 per cent) and Germany (32·1 per cent), nowhere falls below 40 per cent.

The massing of hundreds of thousands, or even of two millions, of Jews in a single town (New York) had no parallel in the Middle Ages. Then the largest and most celebrated Jewish communities, such as those of Prague, Frankfort, and Amsterdam, numbered no more than a few thousand souls. Only when the Jews were at the height of their prosperity in Spain did Granada and Toledo have a substantially larger number; these towns were paralleled in the Near East by Bagdad, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Salonika. In 1937 there were 22 cities in Europe and America with over a million inhabitants apiece, totalling 52 million citizens, and of these 4,500,000, or 8·6 per cent, were Jews. Every twelfth man in these great cities is therefore a Jew. The percentage of Jews was greatest in Warsaw (30·1) and New York (30·0), smallest in Hamburg (1·5), Glasgow (1·5), Birmingham (0·6), and Barcelona (0·3); in the 22 towns taken together it was some four times as great as the percentage of Jews in the total population of Europe (2·5) and America (1·9). Of the Jews in the whole world 27 per cent live in cities with more than one million inhabitants. This degree of "metropolization" is reached by no other nationality on earth. The nearest approximation is found in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, where, in 1931, 22·3 per cent of the population lived in the three

TABLE VI

Number and Percentage of Jews in the Capitals

Country	Capital (or Largest City)	Year	Number of Jews in the Capital	Percentage of Jews in the Population—		Percentage living in the Capital—	
				Of the Whole Country	Of the Capital	Of All Jews in the Country	Of All Non-Jews in the Country
Germany	Berlin	1933	160,564 *	0·8	3·8	32·1	6·3
Hungary	Budapest	1930	204,371	5·1	20·3	46·0	14·8
Poland	Warsaw	1931	352,659	9·7	30·1	11·3	2·8
Austria	Vienna	1934	178,039	2·8	9·3	92·9	25·8
France	Paris	1936	175,000	0·6	3·5	64·8	11·5
Great Britain	London	1937	234,000 †	0·8	2·9	63·2	17·5
Bulgaria	Sofia	1934	25,863	0·8	9·0	55·7	4·3
Greece	Salonika	1928	55,250	1·2	23·4	75·9	3·1
Holland	Amsterdam	1933	65,558	1·4	8·3	57·0	8·9
United States	New York	1926	About 2,000,000	3·5	About 30·0	47·3	4·2
Tunisia	Tunis	1931	25,399	2·3	12·5	45·2	7·6
Argentine	Buenos Aires	1937	140,000	2·0	6·2	51·8	17·5
Brazil	Rio de Janeiro	1937	25,000	0·1	1·5	45·5	4·2
Uruguay	Montevideo	1937	25,000	0·5	3·7	100·0	34·6
South Africa	Johannesburg	1937	40,000	1·0	7·7	41·1	5·0

* Including several thousand Jews who in the four months between the Nazi seizure of power and the date of the census (June 1933) had migrated from the small towns to Berlin on account of the Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda

† This figure refers to Greater London, and is taken from an estimate by M. Kantorowitsch, adopted in the *Jewish Year-Book for 1939* (London, 1939).

cities with more than a million inhabitants, Greater London, Birmingham, and Glasgow.

When compared with New York Jewry, with its two millions, the largest of the other Jewish communities seem small. Besides New York there were in all 18 towns in the world in 1938 with more than 100,000 Jews apiece. These are headed by Chicago, Warsaw, and Philadelphia, with 300,000 to 400,000; then come Lodz, Budapest, Moscow, Paris, and London, with about 200,000 each; Berlin, Vienna, Odessa, Kiev, and Tel-Aviv, with some 150,000; and Buenos Aires, Boston, Cleveland, Kharkov, and Leningrad, with 100,000 to 150,000. (In Vienna the number of Jews had fallen to about 80,000 in August 1939.)

As already remarked, the Jews began their migration to the large towns earlier than the Christians. But since the end of the nineteenth century the Christians have not only followed their example but outpaced them. This is accounted for by the fact that the mechanization and intensification of agriculture have set man power free, while industry in the towns, and especially in the large cities, has attracted it. Consequently in many large cities the percentage of Jews, which constantly increased up to about the end of the nineteenth century, has since remained stable or even fallen. Table VII shows the details for Budapest, Berlin, Warsaw, and Vienna.

TABLE VII

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF JEWS IN CERTAIN LARGE TOWNS SINCE 1880

Year	Budapest		Berlin		Warsaw		Vienna	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1880	70,227	19·7	53,916	4 8	.	..	72,588	10 1
1890	102,377	21 0	79,286	5·0	151,076	33 1	118,495	8 6
1900	166,198	23 6	92,206	4 9	219,128	34·3	146,926	8·8
1910	203,687	23 1	144,007	3 9	306,061	39 2	175,318	8 6
1920	205,512	23 2	..	..	310,384	33 1	..	.
1925	.	..	172,672	4 3	..	..	201,513 *	10 8
1930	204,371	20 3	..	..	352,650 †	30 1	..	..
1933	.	..	160,564	3 8	..	..	178,034 ‡	9 3

* The increase of the Jews in Vienna between 1910 and 1925 was due mainly to immigration from the battle area (Galicia) during and after the Great War.

† This figure applies to the year 1931. ‡ This figure applies to the year 1934.

4. Formation of ghettos

In the Middle Ages the Jews concentrated in particular quarters of the towns (ghettos); this was originally done for security and for the easier observance of their own customs, and it was only later that this voluntary segregation came to be enforced by law. In recent times similar circumstances have led to a similar concentration. The masses of Jewish immigrants into foreign countries, unacquainted with the language and customs of their new place of abode, were compelled, at any rate when they first arrived, to live together. This is not peculiar to the Jews; the Chinese, the Syrians, the Italians, and the Poles also have their own districts in New York City. Generally, the formation of a ghetto is begun by the first immigrants settling in a quarter where rents are low and access to their work is easy. Later immigrants tend to settle round this nucleus. Housing conditions in these ghettos are almost invariably bad, because the new arrivals are usually without means and ready to accept any shelter so long as it is cheap.

The ghetto serves, however, only for the first generation. It is the dream of every active immigrant to emerge as soon as possible from the ghetto and move to a better quarter of the town. In New York, for instance, there is a constant shifting from the proletarian ghetto on the East Side to the middle-class (preponderantly Jewish) Brooklyn and Bronx, and thence to fashionable quarters such as Washington Heights, Riverside Drive, etc. This transfer is sometimes made as early as the first generation, and is then a sign of the rapid economic advance of the immigrant. But in many cases it takes two or three generations. There remain in the original proletarian ghetto only those who have not succeeded in making their way in their new country. In New York, since the restrictions on immigration,

the number of Jews in the proletarian ghetto of the East Side has been steadily diminishing, because the newcomers are too few to replace those who have been sufficiently successful to leave the ghetto.

The ghetto life is of great importance for the immigrant. If, knowing nothing of the language and customs of his new country, he were immediately plunged into its alien life, many troubles and difficulties would arise. By going first to the ghetto he is able to make himself gradually acquainted with the language and customs of the country, and so to become much better equipped for success in his new environment. From a moral point of view, he is less exposed to the danger of sloughing off Jewish ethics and customs before he has become familiar with those of his new country. He escapes the moral vacuum that threatens immigrants who go straight from one civilization to another, a vacuum in which they are liable to feel free of their past moral code and not yet bound by the new one, and are thus tempted, in the absence of social guidance, to give free rein to egoistic promptings.

Ghetto life runs counter to assimilation with the environment because the tendency to assimilation and to the abandonment of Judaism is inversely proportionate to the percentage of Jews among the inhabitants and to the extent of their concentration in special districts. It is no accident that Hamburg, which (after Glasgow) has the smallest percentage of Jews of all the cities with over a million population, and has no ghetto, showed the largest percentage of mixed marriages up to 1933. The presence of a large number of Jews in a city, and their concentration in a particular quarter, make for their isolation as a community and for intercourse and marriage within their own circle. Conversely, a small number of Jews, scattered over a whole town, show an increased tendency to assimilation.

While the ghettos in oversea countries are often in-

habited by Jews to the extent of 80 or 90 per cent, the percentage is smaller in the Jewish quarters of European towns. The largest Jewish quarter in Europe was in Warsaw; its size was due less to fresh immigration than to the fact that the Jews had enjoyed for centuries a right of dwelling in this district which was denied them in other parts of the city. Similarly districts with a strong Jewish element have developed in many other towns of Eastern Europe, as well as in Rome, Amsterdam, and Prague. On the other hand, fresh immigration accounts for the number of Jews in the districts favoured by them in London (Whitechapel), Paris (neighbourhood of the Rue de Rivoli), Berlin (Grenadierstrasse), Vienna (Leopoldstadt), and Antwerp (Pelikaanstraat). The Jews formed 10·8 per cent of the population of Vienna in 1923, but 38·5 per cent of that of the Leopoldstadt district; 4·3 per cent of Berlin in 1933, but 10·5 per cent of Central Berlin; 7 per cent of Prague in 1930, but 39·3 per cent of the Josefstadt district and 16·4 per cent of the Altstadt district. In Vienna, since the *Anschluss* with Germany, the Nazi authorities have tried to force the Jews back into a ghetto, by placing difficulties in the way of their renting flats in any part of the city except the Jewish quarter (2nd District, or Leopoldstadt).

In the countries of the Near East, the medieval ghetto (Mellah), often walled off from its neighbours, has in many cases remained to this day. In Algeria and the other North African States all laws which confined the Jews to the ghetto have long been abolished, but the poorer Jewish inhabitants continue to live there; only the well-to-do move to other parts of the cities.

5. The influence of the cities on Jewish life

The drift of the Jews from the villages and small towns to the great cities has important effects on their social life:

(1) The close communal life of the Jews in the small communities, with strong collective control over the conduct of the individual, is relaxed, and the individual is able to go his own way.

(2) In the villages and small towns the Jews, like their Christian neighbours, are much more conservative in their way of living than in the cities, which are easily influenced by new ideas. In the city atmosphere, which is characterized by rationalism, by a tendency to amusements and gambling and other excitements, and by disregard of religion, the Jew becomes "enlightened" and does not shrink from conversion and mixed marriages.

(3) In the city the Jews have easier access to the Universities and other higher educational institutions. This carries many Jews into the professions, thus arousing anti-Semitism among their non-Jewish competitors, who are particularly sensitive and are also influential. The Jews also find many more opportunities of taking part in speculative transactions. The pursuit of wealth introduces suspense, restlessness, and agitation into the life of the Jews, which in the smaller towns follows a much quieter and more even course.

(4) Birth-control is practised much more in the cities than elsewhere. The concentration of the Jews in the cities is largely accountable for the fall in their birth-rate.

(5) The cities are in the van of the cultural life of their country. The greater the concentration of the Jews in the cities, the greater will be their cultural influence. In Germany since the War this has been made an excuse for the Nazi onslaught against the Jews.

Apart from all this, the Jews are exposed generally to all the influences which have produced the urban type in contrast with the villager. The move from the village is

in itself " selective " in the sense that the migrants to the town are principally those who find it hard to endure the duller life of the village, and who are confident of their ability to keep pace with the rush of city life. The city is a magnet for the more alert.

A further selection takes place within the city. The herding together of people in a narrow space leads to intensive contact between them, which demands considerable capacity for social adaptation. The man who cannot keep step, who cannot fit in socially, who cannot get his angles rubbed down, will find difficulty in getting on. The city is not a good soil for the slow-going or for the recluse ; the townsman tends to become standardized.

The townsman has to have intercourse with others in gaining his living, while the countryman supplies most of his own needs. This greater dependence of the townsman on others makes knowledge of men and insight into character valuable assets, all the more useful and necessary the higher his economic position and the more he lives by mental and not manual work. The man who has these gifts has a better prospect of success in the struggle for existence, and the man without them is at a disadvantage. Many qualities that today are looked upon as characteristic of the Jews are typical of all city dwellers.

CHAPTER V

NATURAL INCREASE AND AGE-GROUPS

1. Historical retrospect

From of old a great natural fertility has been ascribed to the Jews. Tacitus mentions it as one of their characteristics, and Hecataeus of Abdera (A.D. 190), who became acquainted with the Jews in Egypt, asserts that, in contrast to the Greeks and other nations, they were obliged by the tenets of their religion to bring up all their children, and increased rapidly on that account. The Jewish excess of births over deaths must have been large at the time of their independence, or little Judaea could not have sent millions of emigrants into the countries of the Near East.

In the Middle Ages the Jews suffered great losses through persecution, expulsions, and conversions, and especially through the high mortality in the unhygienic ghettos of the towns. Their birth-rate remained very high, but so was the infant and child mortality. Ten or more children might be born in a family, but it was seldom that half of them survived. The death-rate of the adults was also high. Acclimatization to Europe and residence in ghettos took a heavy toll of the Jews; millions died of ailments which were rare or not dangerous in the Near East, but were frequent and often fatal in Europe.

No reliable data exist concerning Jewish vital statistics before the nineteenth century, but certain deductions may

be drawn from the figures for the Christians, although these generally lived under better sanitary conditions than the Jews. As late as the eighteenth century the general death-rate in London, Paris, and Berlin was still in the neighbourhood of 40 per thousand, and was at the best equalled by the birth-rate, so that an increase in the town population could only be obtained by an influx from the villages, where people were not herded together so closely and the mortality was lower. A statistical report from Bohemia for 1793 shows that in that year in Prague, the only considerable town in Bohemia, deaths exceeded births by 129, while in the rest of Bohemia births exceeded deaths by 38,336. Since the Jews of Central and Western Europe lived exclusively in towns and were not reinforced from the countryside, their numbers remained stationary for centuries. This is still the case in the Jewish quarters of towns of many Oriental countries, such as Morocco, Syria, and Mesopotamia, because the sanitary conditions there have remained on a medieval level to this day. The death-rate was less among the Jews of Poland, since there a large proportion lived in villages and small towns.

Jewish tradition, which regarded life as sacred, and insisted on the rearing of every child, however weakly, preserved the existence of many children with physical or mental defects, who would have perished among nations less concerned for the physically or mentally inferior. The tenderness of parents toward their children (and the organized charitable aid of the Jews for those in need) prevented the selective elimination of the weak which is the natural process under sterner conditions. The result was that, in addition to the many highly intelligent Jews, there was a certain percentage of others who, in consequence of physical or mental defects, remained subnormal throughout their lives.

When, in the nineteenth century, hygienic conditions

everywhere improved, and the Jews were liberated from the political and economic disabilities of the Middle Ages, their death-rate, and especially their infantile death-rate, declined, and their numbers increased rapidly, being quadrupled in the course of the century. The rate of increase became even greater in the twentieth century, and reached its peak in 1914 with an excess of births over deaths of about 200,000. From that year the growth has slowed down.

In rough outlines the change in the natural increase of the Jews since the seventeenth century appears as follows, the figures giving the average yearly rate per thousand :

Period	Approximate Birth-rate	Approximate Death-rate	Approximate Natural Increase
1650–1750	45	40	5
1750–1800	40	30	10
1800–1850	40	25	15
1850–1900	35	20	15
1901–1905	33	15	18
1906–1910	32	15	17
1911–1914	30	14	16
1921–1925	24	13	11
1926–1930	21	12	9
1934	18	10	8
1937	17	9	8

It must be remembered that these figures relate to world-Jewry, and neglect the variations from country to country. In the hundred years before the Great War both the birth-rate and the death-rate of the Jews were lower in Western and Central than in Eastern Europe ; but as the main body of Jewry inhabited Eastern Europe, it was they who had the determining influence on the aggregate figures for world-Jewry. The rapid decline in the birth-rate, from 33 at the beginning of the twentieth century to 17 in 1937, is due to the spread of birth-control, and marks a break with the traditional high fertility of the Jews. This extraordinary drop in the birth-rate is the

most important feature of recent population statistics of Jewry. It is true that the death-rate fell in the same period from 15 to 9, but that was not sufficient to make good the drop in the birth-rate: the annual excess of births over deaths fell from 18 in the period 1901–5 to 8 in 1937. The whole advance in the excess of births over deaths, which the Jews made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has been lost in the twentieth century.

2. The decline of the birth-rate among Jews and non-Jews

The decline in the birth-rate is not limited to the Jews, but is a universal feature of modern times. The practice of birth-control, starting from France and especially from the cities, spread during the nineteenth century to Central Europe and later to Eastern Europe, and brought the previously rising curve of the birth-rate to a halt and then a fall. The turning-point was reached first by France between 1811 and 1820; by Great Britain, the United States, Holland, and Germany, between 1870 and 1880, and by Eastern Europe not until 1900. In the countries of the Near East no fall is yet noticeable. Among the Jews, who live in the cities to a greater extent than the Christians, and who belong to the educated classes, among whom the practice of birth-control began sooner than in the lower classes of society, the fall in the birth-rate generally began some decades earlier than among the Christians.

Prussia provides an especially striking example of the fall in the Jewish birth-rate. The rate was:

1822–40 . . .	35·5 per mille
1841–66 . . .	34·7 „
1878–82 . . .	30·0 „
1888–92 . . .	23·7 „
1898–1902 . .	19·7 „
1913 . . .	15·0 „

1924	. . .	14·6 per mille
1926	. . .	12·0 ,,
1928	. . .	10·5 ,,
1931	. . .	8·8 ,,
1933	. . .	6·4 ,,
1935	. . .	5·2 ,,

Thus the birth-rate in Prussia has fallen by six-sevenths in the course of a hundred years. At the commencement of this period, it was nothing unusual for a Jewish family to have eight, ten, or more children. At the end of the period, the Jews had already passed beyond the two-children family and arrived at the one-child family, and very many families were childless. With a birth-rate of 5·2 the Jews of Prussia have fallen to a level equalled by no other nation on earth. Only the Jews of Vienna surpass them, with a birth-rate of 3·8 (1936); since their yearly death-rate is 14·8 they have an excess of 11·0 deaths over births per thousand. In the Eastern European countries, too, while the birth-rates of the Jews remain higher than in Western Europe, there has been a considerable fall in the course of time —

In Russia,	from	34·4	in 1896–1900	to 24·6	in 1926
,, Hungary,[1]	,,	36·8	,, 1881–85	,, 10·6	,, 1935
,, Bulgaria,	,,	37·6	,, 1901–5	,, 18·5	,, 1933
,, Roumania,	,,	46·5	,, 1878–82	,, 14·8	,, 1934
,, Galicia,	,,	40·4	,, 1896–1900	,, 19·3	,, 1936 (Poland)

Table VIII gives a general view of birth-rates, death-rates, and natural increase (excess of births over deaths) among Jews and Christians at the present day. It will be seen that the birth-rate among the Jews has a certain relationship to that of the Christians, diminishing from East to West in Europe. There is evidently also a connexion between birth restriction and the abandonment of the Jewish tradition, seeing that in those countries in which many of the Jews still hold to the Jewish tradition

[1] The figure for 1881–85 includes Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia.

the birth-rate is higher than where they have broken with that tradition. The different districts of Czechoslovakia are an example of this; in Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, where the Jews are now assimilated, the birth-rates were 8·2 and 7·7 in 1930, while in Carpatho-Russia, with its orthodox Judaism, the rate was 35·2.

The birth-rates in Table VIII express merely the proportions of the Jewish and non-Jewish children born in

TABLE VIII

BIRTH-RATES, DEATH-RATES, AND NATURAL INCREASE AMONG JEWS AND NON-JEWS

Country or City	Year	Live Births per 1000		Deaths per 1000		Natural Increase (+) or Decrease (−) per 1000	
		Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews
Prussia	1933	6·4	15·4	15·4	11·2	−9·0	+4·2
,,	1935	5·2	19·2	14·9	11·7	−9·7	+7·5
Berlin	1933	5·4	17·1	18·0	12·2	−12·6	+4·9
Vienna	1936	3·8	5·7	14·8	12·4	−11·0	−6·7
Italy *	1925–30	13·0	24·7	13·4	14·6	−0·4	+10·1
Hungary	1935	10·6	22·4	13·9	15·8	−3 3	+6·6
Budapest	1932	8 3	17·8	15·9	17·7	−7·6	+0·1
Czechoslovakia	1933	13·8	17·4	12·8	13·9	+1·0	+3·5
Poland	1936	19·3	28·1	10·1	15·6	+9·2	+12·5
Soviet Russia	1926	24·6	43·3	9·1	20·2	+15·5	+23·1
Roumania	1934	14·8	34·8	12·7	22·0	+2·1	+12 8
Bulgaria	1934	18·0	33·3	10·2	15·6	+7·8	+17·7
Yugoslavia	1933	11·3	32·5	12·7	17·5	−1·4	+15·0
Lithuania	1931	14·9	30·3	9·8	17·7	+5·1	+12·6
Latvia	1934	12·4	18·0	12·4	14·3	0·0	+3·7
Palestine	1937	26·7	47·3	7·8	23·3	+18·9	+24·0
,,	1938	26·4	45·5	8·1	17·9	+18·3	+27·6
Tunis	1930	35·1	35·2	17·4	17·2	+17·7	+18·0
New York †	1932	17·5	16·5	8·5	10·4	+9·0	+6·1
Canada ‡	1931	14·0	23·3	5·8	10·2	+8·2	+13·1
,,	1926–35	14·3	22·4	5·4	10·5	+8·9	+11·9

* The figures for the Jews are based upon an investigation by Professor R. Bacchi.
† According to Dr. Julius Mahler, of the Columbia University, New York.
‡ I am indebted for these and all further statistics about the Jewry of Canada to an investigation by Louis Rosenberg, Montreal (not yet published).

a single year to the Jewish or non-Jewish population, and take no account of differences in the age-grouping (percentage of those of the reproductive age) among Jews

and non-Jews. They show the rates of increase, but do not give a true picture of the average fertility of a Jewish or non-Jewish family. This can be determined only by counting the number of children brought into the world by every 1000 married women of reproductive age (between 15 and 45 or 50).[1] On this point there exist only scanty statistics concerning the Jews. In Amsterdam at the census of 1930 the average number of children born to couples married before 1890 was 6·73 in the case of the Protestants and 6·55 in that of the Jews, while among the couples married between 1901 and 1910 the number had fallen to 4·21 in the case of the Protestants and 3·64 in that of the Jews. At this census 5·8 per cent of the Protestant and 5·4 per cent of the Jewish couples were recorded as childless. In Czechoslovakia the average numbers of children from marriages existing in 1930 were found in that year to be :

	In Bohemia	In Moravia-Silesia	In Slovakia	In Carpatho-Russia	In Czecho-slovakia
Among the Catholics	2·6	2·9	3·5	3·8	2·9
„ „ Jews .	1·2	1·9	2·9	4·3	2·9

In 1930 the percentage of married women in Czechoslovakia who were childless was 16·3 among the Catholics and 18·4 among the Jews.

In Budapest, in the marriages which came to an end in 1932 through the death of the wife, the number of

[1] The still more exact method for determining fertility, described by Kuczynski in his book *Fertility and Reproduction* (New York, 1932), considers how many of the daughters born have a prospect of arriving at the reproductive age; this could not be used because the necessary figures for the Jews are not known. For Palestine alone, Rita Hinden was able, in the *Co-operative Bulletin* (Tel-Aviv, Hebrew), of January 17, 1937, to use the Kuczynski method on the basis of material available. She found that in 1931 (with a Jewish birth-rate of 32·6, a death-rate of 9·7, and an excess of births of 22·9) every 1000 married Jewish mothers had 1626 daughters, and that of these 1365 had a prospect of reaching the reproductive age.

children averaged 2·5 in the case of the Jews and 2·2 in that of the non-Jews. The latter had thus already outdistanced the Jews in the restriction of births. If we consider, however, not Budapest alone but the whole of Hungary, the number of children born alive to all the marriages still in being in 1930 was —

With Jewish mothers . . .	2·40
„ Lutheran mothers . . .	3·15
„ Calvinist mothers . . .	3·20
„ Roman Catholic mothers . .	3·36
„ Greek Catholic mothers . .	3·98

Here the Jewish marriages had produced by far the fewest children. Among the 1,879,526 married women who were questioned (1930), 320,964 or 17·7 per cent had had no children. Of these childless married women 24,356 or 7·6 per cent were Jewesses, while the percentage of Jewesses among all the married women amounted only to 5·4.

The reasons for birth restriction among the Jews are the same as among the Christians. Biological reasons, such as a diminution of reproductive capacity, are certainly not a factor. At the most it might be said that venereal diseases, which have increased in recent years, lead in some cases to sterility. But there is no evidence of any difference in the frequency of these diseases as between Jews and Christians.

Still-births, which diminish the total of live births (shown in Table VIII), are so few in comparison that their influence on the fall in the number of live births is almost inappreciable. Among legitimate children the percentage of still-births for the Jews is usually no more than 2 to 4 per cent, and is less than the percentage for the Christians; in the case of illegitimate children the percentage is higher, equalling and sometimes exceeding the percentage among illegitimate Christian births. The main reason for birth

restriction is the influence of social factors, such as the transfer of large sections of the population from agriculture to industry and from the village to the town, where the children are later in beginning to earn their keep. A second reason is that in the last hundred years the standard of living in Europe, and especially in the towns, has risen considerably. In order to meet the increase of expenditure the parents try to economize in the most obvious direction —in the number of their children. The growth of a prudential outlook in social life is the greatest enemy of large families, and the principal reason for the increasing use of contraceptives.

It can hardly be supposed that the tendency to a reduction in the number of Jewish births has yet reached its maximum. The more the political and economic condition of the Jews has deteriorated since 1933, the less are Jewish parents willing to bring into the world children who are faced with a prospect of humiliation and want.[1] We have to accept the fact that, after 200 years of rapid natural increase, the Jews have entered a period of slow growth, which in many countries has already led to a natural decrease. Much as primitive peoples lose their traditional ways of living and their enjoyment of life under the impact of alien influences, and voluntarily die out, the Jews in these countries are tending to " race suicide ".

3. Marriages

Traditional Jewry regards marriage as a religious duty. In general it demands that a man shall marry soon after 18 years of age, and a girl at 16 or even younger. This tradition ruled among the Jews of Eastern Europe until after the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were

[1] On this subject see the Introduction by L. B. Namier to my book *The Jews in the Modern World*. London, 1934.

no eugenic requirements for marriage. All Jews and Jewesses, whether or not their physical and mental qualities seemed to fit them to produce healthy children, were expected to marry. This applied even to the weak-minded and to deaf-mutes. The lack of attention to eugenic considerations, together with the early age of marriage, made for deterioration in the offspring. The frequent marriage of relatives contributed to this. The idea of keeping property in the family led to numerous marriages between cousins. The modern view is that the marriage of relatives does not in itself injure the children, if both man and wife are of perfect constitution. But since small defects are very frequent, and these defects are usually of the same kind in relatives and are doubled in the children, the marriage of relatives tends to produce degeneracy in the offspring. The fairly high percentage of deaf-mutes among the Jews is probably due to the fact that related couples with slight defects of hearing or of the nervous system transmitted these defects to their children in an aggravated form. It is in any case proved that deaf-mutism is more frequent in the children of related couples than in other cases.

While this disregard of physical fitness for reproduction may have led to some reversed selection, on the other hand the importance attached to mental capacity when choosing a bridegroom tended to raise the level of mental culture. Salomon Maimon, in his autobiography,[1] relates that in Poland in the eighteenth century the rich merchants, farmers of octroi, and artisans, were prepared for any sacrifice in order to marry their daughters to learned Talmudists, even if the latter were misshapen or sickly. Since, in contrast with our time, the rich brought up more children than the poor, there was a greater chance of the children of such a Talmudist remaining alive and

[1] Published in German by the Schocken-Verlag (Berlin, 1935), p. 29.

inheriting their father's mental capacity, and also, of course, his physical defects.

In the countries of advanced civilization the Jews have profited, perhaps even more than the Christians,[1] by the increasing recognition of the importance of eugenics, because a larger proportion of the Jews belong to the educated classes. Among the Jews in Europe and America the early marriages, which often produce weakly children, have almost entirely disappeared. In Hungary in the period 1931–34, of 14,971 Jewish marriages there were only 6 (=0·04 per cent) in which the bride was under 16 or the bridegroom under 18, while among the Christians the percentage was much higher (0·7). Only in the Oriental countries (Yemen, Morocco, etc.), where puberty occurs at an earlier age than in Europe, do Jewish women still marry young. According to an investigation by Ch. M. Halévy (in the journal *Hateva Wehaarez*, vol. iv. part 8, Jerusalem, 1936), which included 1133 Ashkenazic and 799 Oriental women in Palestine, only 2·1 per cent of the former, but 29·3 per cent of the latter had married before they were 16 years old. The marriage of near relations has become much rarer owing to the wider range of acquaintanceships resulting from improved travel facilities. In Hungary, where special permission from the Government is necessary for marriages between cousins, or between aunt and nephew or uncle and niece, this permission was applied for in only 1·53 per cent of the Jewish marriages in 1931–33. This is a higher percentage than in the case of the Christians (0·62 per cent), but in itself it is inconsiderable.

The same economic rationalism that has led in the last hundred years to birth restriction has influenced the marriage-rate. The number of those who remain unmarried has increased in comparison with earlier times, and mar-

[1] In my book *Darwinismus und Sozialwissenschaft* (Jena, 1903), p. 84 ff., I have pointed out the importance of eugenic requirements.

riages are entered into at a later age. This is most noticeable in the towns, and therefore affects the Jews to a greater extent than the non-Jews.

The figures in Table IX show that the number of marriages per annum per 1000 Jews is almost everywhere (the

TABLE IX

MARRIAGES *

Country or City	Year	Number of Marriages per 1000	
		Jews	Non-Jews
Prussia . . .	1929	6·8	9·6
Germany . .	1935	6·0	10·0
Berlin . . .	1930	8·1	11·4
Hungary . .	1933	8·3	8·4
Budapest . .	1932	9·3	10·9
Bohemia . .	1930	8·2	9·3
Moravia-Silesia .	1930	7·4	9·1
Poland . . .	1929	6·6	9·5
Soviet Russia .	1924–26	7·6	9·3
Lithuania . .	1930	6·2	7·7
Latvia . . .	1934	11·7	8·5
Roumania . .	1930	6·2	9·4
Bulgaria . .	1934	10·8	10·3

* The figures for mixed marriages have been divided equally among Jews and non-Jews.

only exceptions are Latvia and Bulgaria) less than in the case of the non-Jews. In this table the age-constitutions of Jews and non-Jews are not taken into account; the Jews have fewer children and consequently a larger proportion of people of marriageable age than the Christians, and their reluctance to marry is therefore greater than the figures in the table suggest.

Statistics from Hamburg for 1925 show that 10 per cent of the Jewish men and 17 per cent of the women remained unmarried, while the percentages among the Christians were only 8 and 10. On the other hand, in Lithuania in 1923 only 2·6 per cent of the Jews and 1·8 per cent of the Jewesses over 40 were unmarried, against

7·5 per cent of the men and 11·5 per cent of the women among the Christians. Thus in Lithuania the old Jewish tradition that every Jew and Jewess should marry was still respected. An even wider contrast is shown by the figures for Carpatho-Russia and Bohemia. In orthodox Carpatho-Russia in 1921 only 4 per cent of the Jewish men and 2 per cent of the women in the age group 40–45 were unmarried, while amid the assimilated Jews of Bohemia the percentages were 13·6 and 18·2.

The age of marriage has risen considerably. In Warsaw in 1927 the average age of marriage for Jewish men was 29 and for Jewish women 27·3, while for Christian men it was 27·1, and women 24·6. Thus the Jewish men married some two years later and the Jewish women some two and a half years later than the Christian men and women. Still higher, at least for the Jewish men, was the age of marriage in Berlin, where, according to an investigation by Felix Theilhaber in 1923, the average age of the Jewish fathers at the time of the birth of the first child was 32½ and of the Jewish mothers 27. Obviously the higher age of marriage has a depressing effect on the number of legitimate births.

The number of illegitimate births is generally smaller among the Jews than among the Christians. Of every 1000 live- and still-births the illegitimate ones were as follows:

Country or City	Year	Jewish Mothers	Non-Jewish Mothers
Prussia . .	1931	6·70	10·15
Hungary .	1933	3·49	9·72
Latvia * . .	1934	3·16	9·07
Bulgaria * .	1933	1·16	2·45
Berlin . .	1929	7·75	18·53
Vienna . .	1925	6·28	24·16
Budapest .	1932	5·53	21·39
Lodz . .	1929	6·49	4·70
Warsaw . .	1927	9·19	8·81

* The figures for Latvia and Bulgaria apply to live births only.

Thus, only in Lodz and Warsaw did the Jews have a larger percentage of illegitimate births than the Christians. The explanation of this is probably that in these towns some Jewish marriages are celebrated solely by Jewish rites, and the children of such marriages are not counted as legitimate by the Polish statisticians. Lodz, moreover, has a large population of Jewish workers, who are less strict in their attitude to extra-marital relations than are the non-proletarian classes of the Jews of Eastern Europe. In Western and Central Europe the principal reason for the small number of illegitimate births among the Jews is that the majority of them belong to the middle classes, who everywhere look upon illegitimacy as a social stigma.

4. Mortality

In recent times progress in medicine and hygiene has considerably reduced the death-rate. Thus smallpox, which in the eighteenth century was still responsible for about 10 per cent of all deaths, has been practically stamped out by obligatory vaccination. Prussia may serve as example for the reduction in mortality; its death-rate per thousand was as follows:

	Among the Non-Jews	Among the Jews
In 1822–37 . .	29·8	22·0
„ 1876–80 . .	25·5	17·6
„ 1886–90 . .	24·0	16·0
„ 1896–1900 . .	21·3	14·2
„ 1906–10 . .	17·3	13·9
„ 1913 . .	14·9	13·7
„ 1924 . .	12·0	14·1
„ 1926 . .	11·7	13·6
„ 1927 . .	12·1	14·1
„ 1928 . .	11·8	14·1
„ 1931 . .	11·0	15·8
„ 1933 . .	11·2	15·4
„ 1935 . .	11·7	16·8 *

* The deaths among the Jews in 1935 are not related to the number of the Jews at the census of June 16, 1933 (361,826), but to the number of the Jews at the middle of 1935 (estimated at 325,000).

The figures show that the mortality among the Jews, which up to 1913 was consistently less than among the Christians (13·7 against 14·9 in 1913), exceeded the mortality of the Christians in 1924 (14·1 against 12·0), and by 1935 had risen to 16·8 (suicides under the Nazi Terror adding to the number), while among the Christians it has remained stable at about 11 to 12. · In Berlin the difference in favour of the non-Jews (1933) was still greater: 18·0 for the Jews against 12·2 for the non-Jews. On the other hand, in Hungary, in the Eastern European countries, and in Palestine, the mortality among the Jews has remained up to the present consistently less than among the non-Jews.

The Jewish death-rate pro mille amounts (see Table VIII) to—

8·1 in Palestine	14·9 in Prussia
8·5 „ New York	17·4 „ Tunis
9·1 „ Soviet Russia	19·3 „ French Morocco
13·9 „ Hungary	

The lower figures for the United States and Palestine are largely attributable to the fact that the Jewish population of these countries contains a good many immigrants of the earlier age-groups, and as yet has more people in the lower and middle age-groups than the Jewish population in countries without immigrants. Conversely, the relatively high mortality of the Jews in Western and Central Europe is attributable to an unfavourable age-distribution. Owing to the fall in births in recent decades these countries have many more elderly people, and in this respect the Jews are several decades ahead of the Christians, among whom the fall in the birth-rate did not start until later. In the countries of the Near East (apart from Palestine, where the Jews who have come from Europe observe hygienic principles on a European or even higher standard) the heavy mortality is largely attributable to the bad hygienic conditions.

The state of hygiene has a much greater effect on the infantile mortality (deaths of children under one year) than on the general death-rate. Infants are far more sensitive than adults to bad nourishment and unhygienic surroundings. In the insanitary conditions of the Middle Ages perhaps a third of the children born died in their first year, and in the countries of the Near East things are not much better to this day. In Egypt in 1925, 24·9 per cent of the children born died in their first year, and in Cairo 34·1 per cent. Even in Prussia the general infantile mortality in the thirty years from 1875 to 1905 was about 20 per cent, and it is only since 1905 that a permanent improvement has taken place, the rate having fallen to 6·7 per cent by 1935. In Budapest the general infantile mortality fell from 28·4 per cent in 1875 to 16·3 per cent in 1900, at which point, however, it has since remained stationary. The figures in Table X show that the infantile

TABLE X

INFANTILE MORTALITY

Country or City	Year	(Live) Birth-rate		Percentage of Infants dying in the First Year	
		Among Jews	Among Non-Jews	Among Jews	Among Non-Jews
Prussia . .	1935	5·2	19·2	4·3	6·7
Hungary .	1935	10·6	22·4	7·8	15·4
Poland . .	1936	19·3	28·1	5·0	14·8
Soviet Russia .	1926	24·6	43·3	5·7	17·4
Lithuania .	1931	14·9	30·3	4·0	14·9
Latvia . .	1934	12·4	18·0	4·4	9·2
Palestine .	1938	26·3	45·5	5·9	12·5
Lodz . .	1929	14·1	30·6	14·6	17·6
Berlin . .	1929	8·1	10·9	4·0	8·7
Budapest .	1932	8·3	17·8	8·4	17·1
New York .	1932	17·5	16·5	4·2	5·7
Canada . .	1926–35	14·3	22·4	4·1	8·5

mortality among the Jews is considerably smaller in all countries than among the non-Jews. It will also be seen,

on comparing the infantile death-rate with the birth-rate, that the former generally moves in correspondence with the latter. This is explained by the facts that the countries with a small birth-rate are those with a higher standard of living and better hygiene, and that the parents of few children are able to devote greater care to them than those who have large families. Lodz and Budapest are an exception to the rule in one respect, and Palestine in another. The Jews in Lodz and Budapest, compared with those in the other countries, have a high infantile mortality in spite of a relatively low birth-rate, the reason being that the sanitary conditions in those cities are not of the best. Especially in Lodz, which has not yet a modern water supply, and where a large part of the Jewish population consists of factory and home workers, the housing conditions are unspeakably bad. On the other hand, the Jews in Palestine, in spite of their high birth-rate, have a low infantile mortality, which is attributable to the special care which the Jewish immigrants take of the health of their children, with the assistance of special welfare organizations.

Comparing the death-rate for the same age-groups among Jews and Christians in Berlin, Goldmann and Wolff[1] find that in the 0 to 5 age-group the mortality among the Jews is about half the mortality among the Christians, that in the 5 to 40 group a small difference in favour of the Jews still exists, while in the 40 to 50 group the difference vanishes, and in the groups over 50 years the Jews show the heavier death-rate.

Parallel to the death-rate runs the expectation of life, that is to say, the age to which 100 Jews or 100 Christians will live on the average. In Hamburg in 1928, of 100 Jewish infants born, 77·2 had a prospect of reaching their 50th year, but only 60·5 of the non-Jews. For Budapest in 1932

[1] *Tod und Todesursachen unter den Berliner Juden.* Berlin, 1937.

the prospects were 73·9 and 43·3 per cent, in Warsaw (1928) 53·1 and 45·1 per cent, in Lodz (1929) 45·5 and 31·3 per cent. The great difference between the expectation of life of the Jews in Hamburg and that of the Jews in Lodz and Warsaw is to be ascribed to the difference in hygienic conditions, in the standard of living, and in infantile mortality. If we were to calculate the expectation of life of Jews and Christians, not at the time of their birth but in their tenth or twentieth year, and thus eliminate the effect of the smaller infant and child mortality of the Jews, we should find at those ages much less difference between the relative expectations of life of Jews and Christians.

Since the Jews live on the average longer than the Christians, the deaths in their case are, of course, crowded together more in the later age-groups. The Jews then pay back to death what they have kept from him in earlier years. Their mortality is greatest today in those countries in which it was formerly smallest, as, for instance, in Germany. The Jews have there reached a stage at which the death-rate cannot be lowered any further. It looks as if the Christians, who followed the Jews in the lowering of the birth-rate, will also follow them in the raising of the death-rate, so that the difference between them may be looked upon as merely temporary.

5. Causes of death

Without considering in detail the voluminous literature about the differences in the causes of death among Jews and Christians, we will merely mention certain particularly distinctive features.[1] In general, diseases of the respiratory

[1] For details see my book *Soziologie der Juden*, vol. i. p. 254 ff. (Berlin, 1930); also *Studies in the New York Jewish Population*, p. 31, published by the Bureau for Jewish Social Research (New York, 1928); "Race and Cancer", in *Acta Cancerologica*, vol. i. Part I (Budapest, 1934); Koralnik, "On the Question of the Causes of Death among Jews" (Yiddish), in *Schriften*

and urinary systems are less frequent among the Jews as causes of death, and those of the circulation (heart disease, arterio-sclerosis) and of the digestive organs more frequent. For some diseases the differences between Jews and Christians are especially striking (tuberculosis, diabetes, cancer).

With regard to tuberculosis, it is undoubted that bad hygienic conditions contribute to the spread of the disease. But another operating factor is that the Jews who came from Oriental countries to the harsh climate and the overcrowded towns of Europe used to suffer much greater mortality from tuberculosis than the Christians did, with the result of the selective elimination of those who were least able to resist the disease ; a process which in the case of the Christians, who formerly lived mainly in villages, did not set in until the nineteenth century. It is significant that in Galicia before the War, the military authorities engaged in recruiting were willing to accept a smaller chest-measurement in the case of the Jews than in that of the Christians, because, in spite of their narrow chests, the Jews were much less subject to tuberculosis. Perhaps the fact that tuberculosis, which a few decades ago was the most devastating disease among the Christians, has now lost a great deal of its terror, is due to the elimination by now among Christians, as among the Jews, of the less resistant.

As regards diabetes, which is more common with Jews than with Christians, Noorden and Stern[1] assert that its incidence is much more frequent among the wealthier Jews than among the less well-to-do. Its more widespread incidence among the Jews is therefore probably due to the fact that

für Wirtschaft und Statistik, vol. i. p. 133 (Berlin, 1928); Maurice Fishberg, *The Jews; a Study of Race and Environment*, p. 293 ff. (London, 1911); Goldmann and Wolff, *Tod und Todesursachen unter den Berliner Juden* (Berlin, 1937).

[1] See Szygmann, "Ueber die Zuckerkrankheit bei den Juden", in the *OSE Rundschau*. Berlin, October 1928.

a larger proportion of Jews belong to the more prosperous classes and eat richer foods. According to Goldmann and Wolff (*loc. cit.* p. 58) diabetes in Berlin is not more frequent in the lower age-groups of the Jews than in those of the Christians; it is only so in the higher age-groups. For those over 60, the mortality from diabetes was twice as high among the Jews in Berlin as among the Christians.

The greater percentage of deaths from cancer among the Jews is connected with the fact that cancer is principally a disease of the middle and higher age-groups, which are more heavily represented among the Jews than among the Christians. If we compare particular age-groups of Jews and Christians, the difference is considerably reduced. Goldmann and Wolff (*loc. cit.* p. 58) even come to the conclusion that in the same age-groups the mortality of the Jews in Berlin from cancer is somewhat less than that of the Christians. There is a certain hitherto unexplained difference as regards the organs attacked by cancer; among the Jews, cancer of the ovaries, breast, and intestines is more frequent, while that of the uterus, oesophagus, and stomach is less so.[1]

A factor which influences the differences in the causes of death among Jews and Christians is probably the rarity of alcoholism among Jews. This is strikingly indicated by the following figures of arrests in Warsaw and Lodz for drunkenness in the street. There were arrested —

	Of Every 10,000 Jewish Inhabitants	Of Every 10,000 Christian Inhabitants
In Warsaw in 1925 .	3	192
„ Lodz in 1929 .	3	176

The Jews share their slighter tendency to alcoholism with many peoples of the Near East (indulgence in alcohol

[1] S. Peller, "Ueber Krebssterblichkeit der Juden", in *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* (Berlin, 1931), p. 139.

is entirely forbidden to Mohammedans), but it is remarkable that they have retained this characteristic in the colder European countries, where serious alcoholism is very common, and injures not only the drunkard but his descendants. The one place where I have observed alcoholism among Jews was Mosul (Iraq); here the Jews of the lower classes get drunk on the Sabbath. Their excuse is that they have such a hard time during the week (they are mostly labourers or village pedlars) that they want to forget their lot on the Sabbath. The moderation of the Jews in the use of alcoholic drinks is all the more remarkable since total abstinence is rare among them: they drink, but not to excess, perhaps because they are guided more by reason than by instinct and therefore possess a higher degree of self-command.

In addition to the above-mentioned factors, the different pigmentation of the skin of Jews and Christians may lead to differences in diseases and causes of death. Just as Europeans in the Tropics are exposed through lack of pigmentation to many severe illnesses which do not attack negroes, or affect them but slightly, so the heavier pigmentation of the Jews, which prevents the sunlight from penetrating their skin, may favour diseases in countries with scanty sunlight. Goldmann and Wolff [1] sum up their view in this way: "There is no need to demonstrate that differences of race exist, greater in the North, less in the Mediterranean area, between the Jews and their human environment. Whether, however, these differences are so important as to make themselves evident in the course of a disease, other things (hygiene, habits, occupation, social position) being equal, is another question. . . . Rather, therefore, than any actual racial qualities, it has been, we think, a long-continued selection, in mental and physical respects, of the most resistant elements, a positive selection

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 59.

in the true Darwinian sense, that has produced the distinct breed, physically and mentally characteristic, which in Germany today still stands out from its environment. The inbreeding postulated by religious community has intensified both the good and the bad 'race attributes'; it explains many peculiarities of the Jewish people in the midst of a differing environment."

6. Suicide

Suicide, which nowadays occurs increasingly among the causes of death both of Jews and of Christians, was in the past virtually unknown among the Jews. The Jewish religion regards it as a sin, and orthodox Jewry still abhors it. (Similarly, among the Roman Catholics, with their stricter religiosity, suicide is less frequent than among Protestants.) On the other hand, in countries where the Jewish religion has lost its influence, there has been a steady increase in suicide among the Jews. This is confirmed by the figures in Table XI. The Jews in Eastern Europe, like the East European immigrants in New York, have far fewer suicides than the Christians, while in Prussia and Hungary Jews appear more prominently in the suicide statistics than Christians. Apart from the difference in the power of the Jewish tradition, in Prussia and Hungary the Jews include more adults than the Christians, and suicide occurs as a rule only among adults. Moreover, more Jews in Prussia and Hungary are city dwellers than in Eastern Europe, and suicides are generally much more frequent in the large towns than in the country, where conditions of existence are more peaceful. In Poland in 1936 there were 13·2 suicides and attempted suicides per 100,000 inhabitants in the towns (in Warsaw 18·9), compared with 5·5 in the villages. In Hungary (see Table XI) suicides were much more frequent in Budapest than in the rest

of the country. Berlin shows the same contrast with the rest of Prussia. Moreover, in commercial life suicides as a result of financial disaster are much more numerous than in any other occupation, and the high percentage of Jews

TABLE XI

SUICIDES

Place	Year	Suicides per 100,000			
		Jews	Protestants	Catholics	
Prussia	1911	31·5	26·1	10·8	Fatal results only
„	1926	50·5	29·4	14·8	
Bavaria	1910	29·0	24·4	10·4	
Berlin	1925	68·0	45·0	32·0	
Bulgaria	1933	21·5	9·7		
Poland	1936	11·4	19·2	14·9	
Warsaw	1927	17·0	44·0		
„	1932	19·1	38·3		
Lodz	1929	11·0	29·0		
Vienna	1929	42·0	58·0		
New York	1925	23·0	79·0		
Warsaw *	1932	58·9	149·6		Including unsuccessful attempts
Hungary *	1933	91·1	65·6		
Budapest *	1933	145·6	229·7		
Hungary without Budapest *	1933	46·6	47·9		
Bulgaria*	1933	45·1	15·9		

* The figures in the last five lines, which include unsuccessful attempts at suicide, cannot be set against the other figures which include only successful suicides. In Warsaw in 1932 only 32 5 per cent of the attempted suicides among the Jews and 25 6 per cent among the Christians ended fatally; in Hungary in 1933 the percentage of fatal attempts was 48 5.

engaged in trade helps to send up their total of suicides. Finally, the anti-Semitic movement in Western and Eastern Europe leads to humiliation of Jews, from which they often feel that suicide is the only release. The persecution of Jews under the Nazi régime in Germany and Austria has brought about a great wave of suicides in consequence of degradation or economic ruin. It has destroyed the mental equilibrium of the Jews and so prepared the way for suicide.

The reason for the remarkably high suicide figures in Budapest, both for Jews and for Christians, is the severe code of honour among officers and University men.

The fact that of the suicides of Jews in Warsaw (1927-1932) 49·4 per cent were women, whereas in general the percentage of women among suicides is much smaller, is evidence of the difficult psychological situation of the Jewish girls in Warsaw. Through their education in the ordinary schools they lose touch with their orthodox parents, and find themselves alone and unprotected in the dangerous atmosphere of the city. If they succumb to temptation, suicide often seems to them the only way out.

7. Age

Age-constitution (the percentage formed by the various age-groups) depends on the birth-rate and death-rate. A high birth-rate adds to the earliest age-groups, while a low birth-rate, particularly when it is coupled with a low death-rate, increases the weight of the middle and higher age-groups. Conversely, the age-constitution of a population has an effect on the frequency of births and deaths. The greater the percentage of people of the age of reproduction (in which the men between 20 and 55 and the women between 15 and 45 or 50 are generally reckoned), the greater the number of births. On the other hand, the greater the percentage of the higher age-groups among the population, the greater the mortality.

Among the Jews of Western and Central Europe, in consequence of their low birth-rate and death-rate in recent decades, the lower age-groups are very small and the high ones very large — the opposite of the relative proportions 100 years ago, and of the proportions still to be found in Eastern Europe. Thus, in Frankfort in 1808, 47·1 per cent of the Jews were under 20 years of age, while now (see Table XII) only 21·4 per cent of the Jews in Germany belong to that age-group, while in Poland 46·7 per cent belong to it. The conditions in Germany are

repeated in Budapest, where some 20 per cent of the Jews are under 20. Amsterdam, with 29·7 per cent under 20, is between the two extremes. Palestine, with 40·4 per cent, and New York with 40·8 per cent, approximate to the posi-

TABLE XII

AGE-DISTRIBUTION OF JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

Age-group	Amsterdam, 1930		Budapest, 1930		Germany, 1933	
	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews
Under 20 .	29·7	34·6	20·0	25·8	21·4	30·8
20 to 60 .	57·9	56·3	66·8	66·5	68·1 *	62·2 *
Over 60 .	12·4	9·1	13·2	7·7	10·5 *	7·0 *

Age-group	Hamburg, 1933		Poland, 1921		Latvia, 1930	
	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews
Under 20 .	20·6	23·1	46·7	47·6	34·0	32·1
20 to 60 .	61·3	65·3	46·5	45·2	55·4	55·2
Over 60 .	18·1	11·6	6·8	7·2	10·6	12·7

Age-group	Bohemia, 1930		Carpatho-Russia, 1930	
	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews
Under 15 .	13·1	23·0	36·5	37·4
15 to 50 .	57·2	56·3	49·5	49·5
Over 50 .	29·7	20·7	14·0	13·1

Age-group	Palestine, 1931 and 1936			New York, 1925	
	Jews, 1931	Jews, 1936	Non-Jews, 1931	Jews	Non-Jews †
Under 20 .	40·4	35·8	47·0	40·8	38·8
20 to 60 .	53·0	53·1	45·8	57·1 *	56·0
Over 60 .	6·6	11·1	7·2	2 1 *	5·2

* The age-groups are . under 20, 20 to 65, and over 65.
† The figures for non-Jews are those for the whole white population of the United States in 1920.

tion in Eastern Europe. The reason is that these countries have received large masses of Jewish immigrants, the majority of whom were young, and have not yet reached the higher age-groups. Sharpest of all is the contrast in Czechoslovakia. In Bohemia, with its small birth-rate,

the group under 15 years contains only 13·1 per cent; in Carpatho-Russia, with a high birth-rate, it contains 36·5 per cent.

The natural consequence of small numbers in the lower age-groups is larger numbers in the middle (20 to 60 years) and the high groups (over 60). In Budapest the percentage of Jews in the middle groups is 66·8, against only 46·5 in Poland, and the percentage in the high groups 13·2, against 6·8 in Poland. The years from 20 to 60 are the best working period of life, while the persons in the low and high groups either cannot work at all or else have only a limited output; thus from an economic point of view that population is best constituted which contains the largest proportion in the middle age-groups. In this sense, the age-distribution of the Jews of Budapest and Germany would be more favourable than in Poland and other East European countries. On the other hand, a deficiency in the lower groups and an excess in the higher robs a population of much of its freshness and capacity for enthusiasm; it strengthens the prudential motives of action. Such "elderly" communities have as a whole a weaker reaction to the vicissitudes of existence than a population with a strong element of youth.

A comparison between Jews and Christians (Table XII) shows that among the former the lower age-groups in most countries are smaller than among the latter. Latvia and New York are exceptions, with a slight difference in favour of the Jews. Also in Poland and Carpatho-Russia, the difference between the two is but small. The relative preponderance of the higher groups in the case of the Jews is at its maximum in Budapest, where 13·2 per cent of the Jews and 7·7 per cent of the non-Jews were over 60, and in Hamburg, where the percentages were 18·1 and 11·6 respectively.

German statistics afford an opportunity of studying

more closely the age-constitution of Jewry. At the census of June 16, 1933, the percentage of the Jews —

Under 6 years old was	4·87		against 8·90 per cent in the whole population.
From 6 to under 14 it was	10·97		against 13·40 per cent in the whole population.
„ 14 „ „ 16 „	1·42	73·62	against 70·44 per cent in the whole population.
„ 16 „ „ 20 „	4·15		
„ 20 „ „ 25 „	6·85		
„ 25 „ „ 45 „	32·07		
„ 45 „ „ 50 „	8·05		
„ 50 „ „ 60 „	15·32		
„ 60 „ „ 65 „	5·76		
„ 65 upwards	10·54		against 7·26 per cent in the whole population.
	100·00		

Since the census a great change in the age-distribution of the Jews has taken place owing to the emigration of a large number of Jews, especially of the earlier age-groups, and to a further fall in the birth-rate. According to an estimate made by the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Germany in August 1939, the age-grouping of the 272,200 Jews in Germany (without Austria) was then as follows :

Under 14 years	21,750,	or	8·0	per cent	of	the total
14–17 „	8,850	„	3·3	„	„	„
17–50 „	98,450	„	36·2	„	„	„
50–60 „	52,150	„	19·1	„	„	„
Over 60 „	91,000	„	33·4	„	„	„

The Jews in Germany (and also, for the same reason, in Austria since the *Anschluss*) are the only people in the world among whom the number of the old folk (over 60) is three times that of the young ones (under 17). This age-grouping results in a high mortality rate, and since at the same time the birth-rate continues to fall, the Jews in Germany, apart from emigration, are rapidly dwindling.

The larger numbers in the higher age-groups also

influence the ratio of the male to the female portion of the community. There is no difference between Jews and Christians in the proportion between the sexes at birth: about 106 boys are born to every 100 girls. But since the male mortality is consistently heavier than the female, both among Jews and Christians, the higher age-groups contain a preponderance of women. At the census of 1933 in Germany the Jews showed 109 women to 100 men, but in the age-group " over 65 " there were 140 women to every 100 men.

8. Natural increase

As a result of the fall in the Jewish birth-rate, only partly made good by the fall in the death-rate, the natural increase of the Jews (excess of births over deaths) has declined in all countries in recent decades, and in some countries has been converted into a natural decrease (see Table VIII). In Prussia, where, about 1880, the Jews still had an annual natural increase of 13 per 1000, 1925 shows for the first time a small excess of deaths over births, which has gone on increasing from year to year. In 1935 this natural decrease amounted to 9·7 per mille, while the Christians showed a natural increase of 7·5 per mille. The decline of the Jews in Prussia was surpassed in certain towns, such as Berlin, where the natural decrease of the Jews amounted to 12·6 per cent, and in Vienna, where it was 11·0 per cent. In Vienna, which presents the extreme case, and which as early as 1909 showed a natural decrease among the Jews, only 673 Jewish children were born alive in 1936, while there were 2601 deaths — a grotesque situation, which can be characterized only as weariness of life or as group suicide. But in Hungary (especially Budapest), Italy, and Yugoslavia, the Jews also have an excess of deaths over births. Even in Latvia equality between births and deaths had been reached by 1934. Only Soviet

Russia, Poland, and Carpatho-Russia still show a considerable excess of births (15·5, 9·2, and 23·6 per mille). Carpatho-Russia formed a striking contrast to Bohemia, which in the same year (1930) showed a natural decrease of 7·0 per mille. A relatively high natural increase is also displayed by the immigration countries, such as the United States and Palestine (9·0 and 18·9 per mille), as well as the Oriental countries generally. Tunis, with a Jewish natural increase of 17·7 per mille, exemplifies what happened among the Jews throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, when the fall in the death-rate, and particularly in the infantile death-rate, in consequence of modern administration and improvement of hygienic conditions, brought about a rapid increase in the population.

The natural increase of the Jews is consistently less than that of the Christians. The latter still show a natural increase in all countries, and Vienna is exceptional among cities with a natural decrease of 6·7 per mille in 1936. It is clear that if this condition continues, the percentage of Jews in the total population must continue to fall. In some countries the latest census already displays this process, and even a fall in the absolute figures for the Jews. Thus, in Holland, the Jews receded from 115,223 in 1920 to 111,917 in 1930, although there has been no substantial emigration of Jews from Holland. In other countries, too, the percentage of Jews has fallen — for instance :

In Hungary,	from	5·9	per cent	in	1920	to	5·1	per cent	in	1930.
„ Czechoslovakia,	„	2·6	„	„	1921	„	2·4	„	„	1931.
„ Austria,	„	3·5	„	„	1923	„	2·8	„	„	1934.
„ Poland,	„	10·4	„	„	1921	„	9·8	„	„	1931.
„ Latvia,	„	5·2	„	„	1925	„	4·8	„	„	1935.

In some of these countries, however, emigration has played a part alongside of the decline in the birth-rate.

The consequence of this decline is seen in the greatly

retarded pace of the addition to the number of Jews in the world since the War. World-Jewry grew

In the period	from 1901	to 1905,	from 10·5	to 11·4	millions
,, ,,	,, 1906	,, 1910,	,, 11·4	,, 12·4	,,
,, ,,	,, 1911	,, 1915,	,, 12·4	,, 13·4	,,
,, ,,	,, 1916	,, 1920,	,, 13·4	,, 14·0	,,
			(result of the War)		
,, ,,	,, 1921	,, 1925,	,, 14·0	,, 14·8	,,
,, ,,	,, 1926	,, 1930,	,, 14·8	,, 15·6	,,
,, ,,	,, 1931	,, 1935,	,, 15·6	,, 16·3	,,
,, two years	1936 and	1937,	,, 16·3	,, 16·6	,,

The absolute natural increase or decrease of the Jews in the principal countries (with a total of 12,669,911 Jews) is summarized in Table XIII :

TABLE XIII

NATURAL INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (−) OF THE JEWS

Country	Year	Jewish Population	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase (+) or Decrease (−)
Roumania . .	1934	800,000	11,238	9,656	+ 1,582
Poland . .	1936	3,250,000	62,000	32,000	+ 30,000
Hungary . .	1935	440,000	4,883	6,196	− 1,313
Prussia . .	1935	310,000	1,905	5,385	− 3,480
Vienna . .	1936	170,000	673	2,601	− 1,928
Soviet Russia .	1926	2,679,911	57,786	21,868	+ 35,918
United States .	1932	4,600,000	78,000	38,000	+ 40,000
Palestine . .	1937	420,000	10,297	3,003	+ 7,294
Total .	..	12,669,911	226,782	118,709	+ 108,073

These countries show a yearly natural increase of 108,073. Since they contain about 75 per cent of the Jews in the world, the natural increase of the Jews in 1937 may be estimated at 130,000 to 140,000, allowing for the fact that the Jews in Soviet Russia have suffered a decline in their birth-rate since 1926, and those in the United States since 1932. There is, therefore, a natural increase of 8 per 1000, a rate which is keeping pace with that of the countries of Western and Central Europe, but not with the rate in

Eastern Europe. As nearly half of world-Jewry lives in Eastern Europe, the net result of these differences is a fall in the percentage of the Jews among the general population of Europe. As regards absolute numbers, the period of rapid growth of the Jewish population, which began about 1800, has come to an end, and we must reckon in the future with a considerably slower increase or even with stagnancy or a decline in the number of Jews in the world.

This may be of great importance to the whole social and economic life of the Jews. In the Russian Empire, the growth of Jewry from some 800,000 in 1800 to 5¼ millions in 1900 was the cause of the deterioration of their economic position, because the economic development of Russia did not keep pace with this rapid increase: in the same way a reduction in their proportion to the rest of the population (on the assumption, of course, that there are no disturbances in their economic or political conditions) may lead to an improvement in their economic situation. In Poland, for instance, the opportunities for earning a living were insufficient for the Jews, who constituted 10·4 per cent of the total population at the census of 1921; but by 1931 their percentage had dropped to 9·8, and their smaller birth-rate tended to improve their economic situation in so far as it reduced the burden on parents of the cost of educating their children. It would be going too far to say that the difference in prosperity between the Jews in Western and Central Europe on the one hand and those in Eastern Europe on the other is entirely attributable to the greater burden of children which the latter support, but a certain correlation between their circumstances in this respect cannot be left out of account.

CHAPTER VI

LOSSES THROUGH MIXED MARRIAGES

1. The statistics of mixed marriages

Mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews were frequent in the first thousand years of the Christian era, though forbidden both by Jewish law and by the Church. But they became steadily rarer with the widening of the gulf between Christian and Jew after the Crusades, and at last ceased entirely. Mixed marriages were also forbidden by law in Mohammedan countries.

The first steps toward the removal of these prohibitions were made by the French Revolution, which established the civil character of marriage and refused to regard a difference of religion as an impediment to it. From France the recognition of mixed marriages gradually extended to Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway and Sweden, Italy, and the United States. In Germany mixed marriages were legalized by a law of 1875; they had already been permitted in some of the German States. This remained the position in Germany until 1935, when the "Nuremberg laws" imposed heavy penalties on marriages between "Aryans" and "non-Aryans" (Jews). Italy, where mixed marriages were very frequent, followed Germany's example in 1938. In Hungary, mixed marriages have been permitted since 1895. In Roumania, Bulgaria, and Serbia, they had become permissible before the Great War. In Russia, the ban on mixed marriages was lifted

at the Revolution of 1917. In the former Russian provinces included in Poland the ban remained in force, although mixed marriages were allowed in the Polish districts which formerly belonged to Austria (Galicia). In post-War Austria an official permit was necessary for a mixed marriage; this permit was obtainable without difficulty until, at the *Anschluss* in 1938, the extension of the Nuremberg laws to Austria put an end to mixed marriages. In many Mohammedan countries, mixed marriages are still forbidden.

A difference in religion is nearly everywhere a certain impediment to marriage. The religious character given to marriage in many countries makes a mixed marriage appear "sinful", and the clergy, both Christian and Jewish, usually refuse to solemnize it, so that it can take place only as a civil ceremony. In many countries the religious community is the principal framework of social intercourse, and this alone makes marriages between persons of different religions exceptional.

The restriction of marriage to co-religionists formed the strongest bond between the Jews until far into the nineteenth century, making them into a homogeneous ethnic unit, able to show a unique power of resistance against the assimilating forces of Christianity and Islam. Even Jews who have become indifferent to their religion often remain averse to marrying outside their community; this is perhaps the last remnant of their national consciousness. They feel that, although they have dropped the Jewish ritual, they will remain Jews so long as they and their children intermarry with Jews, and that only a mixed marriage would finally separate them from their people. Indeed, intermarriage, as soon as it appears on a large scale, marks the end of Judaism.

Since mixed marriages became permissible, they have greatly increased. It must be borne in mind, however,

that only those marriages are entered in statistics as "mixed" in which the parties are of different religions at the time of the wedding. Those marriages in which one party has accepted the religion of the other previously to the ceremony — so-called "concealed" mixed marriages — are not registered as mixed. On the other hand, a marriage between two persons of Jewish race will appear as a "mixed marriage" in the much rarer case in which one of them has been baptized and the other not. A marriage between baptized Jews will count as a Christian marriage. Table XIV illustrates the frequency of mixed marriages in various countries and at various periods.

Whilst in the first ten years after the legalization of mixed marriages in Prussia (1875–84) only 4·79 per cent of the marriages contracted by Jews were mixed ones, in 1933 the percentage had risen to 28·03, to fall back under the Nazi régime to 13·57 in 1934 and 8·38 in 1935. In certain German cities the figure was still higher. Thus, in Hamburg in 1932 a full third of the Jews married outside their religious community. Prague, too, with 29·26 per cent of mixed marriages in 1933, and especially Trieste, with 56·10 per cent in 1927, showed that mixed marriages had become common among the Jews in the cities of Western and Central Europe. In Eastern Europe, on the other hand, apart from Soviet Russia, there are very few such marriages. In Latvia, the percentage of mixed marriages among the Jews in 1933 was 2·64, in Carpatho-Russia 1·0, in Lithuania (1931) no more than 0·2. Similarly in Canada,[1] where the Jewish population consists mainly of first and second generation immigrants from Eastern Europe, the percentage is only 2·2. On the other hand, there has been a rapid increase of mixed marriages in Central Russia; since the revolution, masses of Jewish immigrants have poured in from White Russia and the Ukraine, and,

[1] Louis Rosenberg: *The Jews of Canada* (not yet published).

TABLE XIV

Mixed Marriages

Territory	Period	Of every 100 Jews marrying, Mixed Marriages were contracted by —		
		Jews	Jewesses	Together
Prussia	1875 to 1884	4·60	4·98	4·79
	1885 to 1889	8·29	7·33	7·81
Germany	1901 to 1904	8·48	7·41	7·95
	1910 to 1911	13·49	10·37	11·96
	1928	25·15	16·79	21·19
	1932	27·50	17·90	23·00
	1933	35·43	18·67	28·03
	1934	18·09	8·52	13·57
	1935	11·37	5·17	8·38
Berlin	1932	33·79	20·48	27·76
	1933	36·60	20·28	29·37
Frankfort	1933	20·54	7·77	14·63
	1934	10·53	4·22	7·48
Hamburg	1932	38·02	27·88	33·33
Bavaria	1901 to 1905	4·47	4·04	4·25
	1926 to 1927	16·90	9 52	13·36
Hungary	1895 to 1899	2·68	2·73	2·70
	1907 to 1908	4·12	4·55	4·33
	1925	11·90	10·90	11·40
	1932	14 29	14·09	14·19
	1933	14·77	12 97	13·88
	1934	15·30	13·00	14·17
	1935	14·69	13·17	13·94
Budapest	1896 to 1900	6 71	7·22	6·97
	1925	17·96	15·27	16·64
	1932	19·66	17·98	18·81
Vienna	1926	12·68	11·71	12·20
	1929	13·86	12·02	12·95
	1932	15·56	12·68	14·15
	1935	11·63	9·06	10·36
Czechoslovakia	1933	12·73	10·08	11·39
Bohemia	1933	30·73	25 25	28·10
Carpatho-Russia	1933	0·72	1·25	0·99
Prague	1933	31·22	27·19	29·26
Amsterdam	1899 to 1908	..	..	5·00
	1926 to 1927	13·79	12·60	13·20
	1928 to 1930	17·03	12·49	14·83
	1931 to 1933	19·11	13·86	16·56
Copenhagen	1900 to 1905	..	..	31·76
Trieste	1900 to 1903	..	..	17·90
	1927	60·87	50·00	56·10
Central Russia	1924 to 1926	20·68	12·47	16·77
White Russia	1924 to 1926	1·87	3·73	2·81
Ukraine	1924 to 1926	4·19	4·90	4·55
Russia in Europe (whole)	1924 to 1926	7·41	6·21	6·80
Latvia	1933	3·33	1·59	2·64
Lithuania	1931	0·5	0·0	0·2
Canada *	1931	2·7	1·6	2·2
	1935	..	..	2·8

separated from their co-religionists, have acquired Russian ways. In 1924–26 the percentage of Jews in Central Russia who contracted mixed marriages had risen to 16·77, while in the same period the figure for White Russia was only 2·81 and for the Ukraine 4·55. In Italy, mixed marriages had become so frequent of late years among the Jewish inhabitants, who were only about one per thousand of the population, that certain communities, such as the old and famous Jewish community of Leghorn, seemed doomed to die out, since the children of mixed marriages in Italy are almost without exception lost to Judaism. This process has been brought to an end by the Italian legislation of 1938, which forbids marriages between Jews and Christians.

Some decades ago, mixed marriages occurred more especially in the higher social classes of the Jews. Now they have also become numerous in the lower classes. Thus an investigation in Budapest showed that 16·5 per cent of the Jews who married there in 1929 contracted mixed marriages, but that the percentage in the working-class was still higher, being 27·7 of all the men who married and 29·2 of all the women. Similarly in Central Russia the mixed marriages are most frequent among the workers. In Amsterdam, where a large proportion of the Jews are workers in the diamond industry, in 1934 16·56 per cent of the Jews married outside the circle of their co-religionists, and this percentage is said to have risen considerably since 1934.

It might have been expected that mixed marriages would fall off at times of strong anti-Semitism. This has not been so, perhaps because anti-Semitism has usually been confined to particular classes of the population, and the workers and part of the middle-class have been little affected by it. In Germany after the War, mixed marriages increased from year to year in spite of the growth of anti-

Semitism, and in spite of the propaganda against mixed marriages which the Nazis were already conducting before 1933. Even in 1933, mixed marriages showed a considerable increase, but this was probably due to fear that mixed marriages might soon be forbidden. Only from 1934 did mixed marriages fall off; in the autumn of 1935 the Nuremberg laws put an end to them. As regards persons of mixed descent, the Nuremberg laws distinguish between half-Jews (with one Jewish parent) and quarter-Jews (with one Jewish grandparent). A half-Jew (male or female) may not marry an "Aryan" without special official permission. Quarter-Jews (male or female) may not marry Jews or quarter-Jews or half-Jews, but only "Aryans", in order that their absorption into the German people may be hastened.

Before the mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe into the United States, there were a good many mixed marriages in the States between Sephardic or German Jews and Christians. Only since the arrival of the East European immigrants, with their dislike of mixed marriages, has the percentage of such marriages fallen. Since 1900, however, a certain upward movement has taken place, especially in New York, where the Jews in their ghetto are the neighbours and trade associates of the Italians, and have began to intermarry with them. According to Drachsler,[1] who investigated the marriage lists in New York for the years from 1908 to 1912, the most frequent mixed marriages were those of Americans with Jews from Germany and France, who were nearest to the cultural level of the Americans. After them came the Jews from Hungary and Holland, and last of all those from Eastern Europe. In general, therefore, the frequency of mixed marriages increases parallel with the length of the stay of the Jew in the United States. This is easily understood.

[1] *Democracy and Assimilation* (New York, 1920), p. 121.

The immigrant who is not acquainted with the language and customs of the country is confined to the circle of his fellow immigrants. Only when he feels at home in his new country can he make acquaintances in other circles, which may lead to marriage.

From Table XIV it will be seen that in nearly all countries Jews enter mixed marriages more frequently than Jewesses, the girl being more readily influenced by the wishes of her parents and by fear of uncomfortable relations with her husband's family. Moreover, the number of mixed marriages not registered as such in the statistics, because of a previous change of religion, is greater in the case of Jewish brides than bridegrooms.

In the territory of Soviet Russia we find (see Table XIV) that in Central Russia mixed marriages with a Jewish husband are the more frequent, while in White Russia and the Ukraine those with a Jewish wife predominate. This is due to the disproportion between the sexes brought about by the large-scale migration of young unmarried men from White Russia and the Ukraine into Central Russia. More of these men married Christian women since there were fewer Jewesses, while the situation was reversed in White Russia and the Ukraine.

Mixed marriages are most common in the large towns, where the influence of religion and of differences in social status is least, and where social intercourse between Jews and non-Jews is easiest. Similarly, mixed marriages are more numerous in those places in which Jews are not numerous, have long been enfranchised, and have attained economic influence, as in Denmark, Australia, France, Great Britain, and so on. It is true that no figures in regard to mixed marriages are available for the last two countries mentioned, but many cases of mixed marriages are known, even in the highest circles of the aristocracy.

It is not surprising that mixed marriages lead more

often to divorce than marriages of co-religionists, since the difference of religion naturally provides ready matter for quarrels either with the spouse or with the relations-in-law. In Hungary in 1934 the divorces granted in mixed marriages amounted to 27·6 per cent of all the dissolutions of marriages with one or both partners Jewish; in 1935 the percentage was 30·3. Yet these mixed marriages amounted only to 13 per cent of the total number of marriages with one or both partners Jewish, concluded in the period 1925–1934.

2. Religion of the children of mixed marriages

It is often asserted, but has not yet been proved, that mixed marriages are less fertile than those between persons of the same stock. It is true that the statistics from the few countries from which information is available show the number of children of mixed marriages as rather less than those of purely Jewish marriages. But this may well be due to the fact that, until recently, mixed marriages mainly occurred in the wealthier classes, in which the number of children is regularly below the average for the population as a whole.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that mixed marriages bring losses to Jewry, since considerably less than half of the children of such marriages remain within the Jewish religious community. Statistics for certain districts of such children living in the homes of their parents, and entered as members of the Jewish community, are shown in the table on page 113.

Thus less than one-fourth of the children of mixed marriages remain in the Jewish religion, the percentage being higher in marriages in which the husband is Jewish. New South Wales is an exception in the latter regard, and we may conclude that in that country the mother has the

	Year	Children remaining Jewish in Mixed Marriages —		
		With Jewish Husband	With Jewish Wife	Together
		Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
In Prussia . . .	1910	25·8	20·8	23·7
„ Saxony . . .	1905	27·1	10·0	18·6
„ Bremen . . .	1900	40·0	5·1	16·9
„ New South Wales .	1901	30·0	36·4	..
„ Copenhagen . .	1906	..	..	16·5

greater influence on the education and future religion of the children. The percentages quoted refer only to children still living in their parents' homes, and some children of mixed marriages will certainly abandon Judaism of their own accord, out of regard for their Christian relatives, after leaving home; thus it may fairly be assumed that scarcely 10 per cent of the children of mixed marriages remain Jews.

In Hungary there is a law under which the parties to a mixed marriage may enter into an agreement about the religion of the future children; in default of such an agreement, the sons follow the religion of the father and the daughters that of the mother. Of the 85 cases in which such agreements were entered into in Budapest in 1932, only 14 were in favour of the Jewish religion. In other countries, too, there is an undoubted tendency on the part of the parents in mixed marriages to clear their children's path by bringing them up in the prevalent religion.

In Prussia in 1933 the number of children of mixed marriages was 24·46 per cent of the number of children of purely Jewish marriages; in Berlin in the same year the percentage was 31·32; in Budapest in 1932 it was 23·98. In view of the small number of Jewish births in Prussia and Hungary there is of course some importance in the fact that only a small proportion of the children of mixed marriages remain Jews. To that extent the ban on mixed marriages in Germany (1935) would prevent the

loss of children of mixed marriages and exert a positive influence on the increase of the Jews, were it not that simultaneously the economic deterioration in their position makes Jewish parents more and more hesitant to bring children into the world.

Mixed marriages constitute the final and decisive step in the process of assimilation of Jews to their non-Jewish environment. So long as there exists between the Jews and the rest of the population *commercium* but not *connubium*, the Jews can remain a separate community. As soon as inter-marriage on a large scale becomes customary, the last barrier that divides the Jews from their neighbours has fallen, and therewith their fate as a community is ultimately sealed. Probably the disappearance of the Jews in many countries, in which they existed in ancient times and in the Middle Ages, is accounted for by the fall of this last barrier.

3. Effects of mixed marriages on the Jewish race

In order to assess the effects of mixed marriages on the Jewish race, let us take a statistical example from Prussia, where in 1933 there were 1913 children born of purely Jewish and 468 of mixed marriages. Of the latter, on the basis of the 10 per cent estimate arrived at above, 47 would adhere to Judaism, making 2·4 per cent of the children born to Jewish parents in 1933. Moreover, part of the 160 illegitimate children of Jewish mothers doubtlessly had non-Jewish fathers. On the assumption that this is the case with half of these children, and assuming also that there are instances of adultery of Jewish married women with non-Jewish men, it is probably not going too far to assess at 150 the children of mixed descent who adhere to Judaism; they would then form some 7 per cent of the

total of Jewish children born in 1933. So high an annual percentage of mixed blood must fairly rapidly affect the racial characteristics of the Jews. If this process had continued without interruption, there would before very long have been very few Jews in Prussia with no Christian ancestors.

The effect of the Jewish admixture on the Christian community is much less, in spite of the fact that the absolute number of the children of mixed blood who remain Christians is greater than the number of children who remain Jews. The 90 per cent of the 468 children of mixed marriages, who according to our estimate join the Christian community, amounts to 421. Even if we assume that adultery of Christian married women with Jews and extra-marital relations of Jewish men with Christian girls may double or treble this figure, it nevertheless remains trifling in comparison with the 608,891 Christian children who were born in Prussia in 1933. Only in the cities, where the Jews form an important part of the population, and mixed marriages, baptisms, and illicit sexual intercourse are frequent, can the admixture of Jewish blood leave an appreciable mark on the racial character of the non-Jewish population. A calculation for Berlin alone on the lines of that made above for Prussia would show that in 1933 some 2 per cent of all the new-born Christian children had one Jewish parent.

PART II

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

CHAPTER VII

THE ECONOMIC ADVANCE OF THE JEWS SINCE THEIR EMANCIPATION

1. The beginnings of the economic activity of the Jews in Europe

The present-day economic structure of the Jews is the result of their political history. In ancient Palestine, agriculture was the principal basis of their existence. But, as happens everywhere with emigrants, many of them abandoned agriculture and began to live by trading when they were transplanted from their own country in the sixth century B.C., though a considerable number of them remained true to agriculture.[1] When their State had ceased to exist, and they migrated into the other Mediterranean countries and later into Central and Eastern Europe, they were excluded as aliens from the village communities and were therefore unable to devote themselves to agriculture. In most countries, moreover, in the Middle Ages, farming was gradually reduced by the feudal system to a despised occupation yielding but a wretched existence. The nobles or the Church took possession of the great bulk of the land, and its former owners were compelled thereafter to till the soil as tenants, with the status of bondmen

[1] There still exists in the north of Mosul a Jewish village, Sandur, with some 60 Jewish peasants; and in the village of Pekiin in the north of Palestine, Jews remained farmers for many centuries, until driven out in 1938 by Arab terrorism.

or serfs. Down to A.D. 1000 there were still to be found here and there in Sicily and other Mediterranean countries Jewish owners of mulberry plantations (for silkworm culture), vineyards, or orchards. It was also customary in Eastern Europe, and has remained so to the present day, for Jews in the villages and also in some cases in the small towns to own a small plot or a garden for growing vegetables or fruit, or for keeping a cow or poultry for their own needs. But from the time of the Crusades to the end of the eighteenth century there was scarcely a Jew to be found who gained a livelihood from farming.

Farming gave place to trading. Most of the Jews who came to Western and Central Europe had not come direct from Palestine, but were the descendants of families who had dwelt for many centuries in countries with highly developed economic systems, such as Babylonia, Egypt, and Roman Italy. In these countries, in the first centuries of the Christian era, the capitalist economic system had been built up to a level which was only gradually regained by the countries of Western and Central Europe after the discovery of America. The Jews had grown up under the capitalist system which found its expression in Roman law, and brought this system to their new countries of domicile. They represented the principle of free competition and the pursuit of profit, within an economic system bound up with the common ownership of the soil or with guild regulations or monopolies. In the trade in products of the Orient, the principal branch of commerce in the Middle Ages, they had the advantage of their connexions with their co-religionists in the countries of the Near East, and of their common Hebrew tongue.

Their success as traders was due to the scarcity value of mental in comparison with manual labour in medieval Europe, a scarcity value which lasted right down to recent

times. Successful trading requires a knowledge of writing and arithmetic, and initiative in calculation and planning, which the Jews had brought from the East and from the Roman Empire, and had preserved by tradition and schooling. They had the further advantage in trading that their life in the towns had given them a keen insight into the mentality of their fellow-men. The whole Christian population could compete with the Jews in such manual occupations as agriculture and the crafts, but few in trade. This rarity of the capacity for mental work, with the better payment that it was able in consequence to demand, had the result that the Jews found their natural place in commerce and in other intellectual occupations such as medicine. They felt out of their proper sphere if they had to do ordinary routine manual work.

Occupation with commerce introduced the Jews into various skilled crafts required for the preservation of their goods, or for their modification to meet customers' wishes. In the first thousand years of the Christian era there was no rigid dividing line between the trader and the artisan; both were frequently the same person, as they are, for instance, to this day among watchmakers or jewellers. The Jew who traded in precious stones generally knew how to polish and mount them; the cloth-dealer knew how to cut up, dye, or sew; the fur-trader had to know how to preserve and prepare his furs; the dealer in old clothes had to know how to clean and mend them. This ancient connexion between trade and handicrafts is seen to this day in the fact that the Jews are specially numerous in those occupations which place the final touch on goods and make them ready for use by the consumer — the finishing trades. They are also to be found in those handicrafts which originated and reached their highest development in the Near East, such as goldsmith's work, silk manufacture, and the weaving and dyeing of fabrics.

The Jews would have maintained their predominance in trade in the Middle Ages, if they had remained on an equal footing with the Christians under the law. But the Christians, who were unable to beat the Jews in free competition, took advantage of their influence over the city magistrates to exclude the Jews from most branches of trade. In this way, in the 250 years from the first Crusade to the year of the Black Death (1349), the Christians of Central and Western Europe took almost all trade into their own hands, thrusting out the Jews or confining them to a few despised branches of retail trade, and to money-lending, a business forbidden to Christians by canon law. The Jews of Western and Central Europe were also excluded from the handicrafts by the guild organizations. Only a few branches of trade remained open to them, such as the butcher's, baker's, and tailor's, whose products the Jewish religion required to be prepared for the Jewish consumer by Jews, or occupations like cleaning and tanning, which the Christians despised.

Only the Sephardic Jews, who after their expulsion from Spain had gone to Turkey, the South of France, Holland, and certain oversea countries, continued to hold a respected position in trade, in finance, in the higher handicrafts (copper engraving, goldsmith's work, diamond cutting), and in medicine.

In Poland, where Jews had immigrated from Germany in large numbers since the fourteenth century, they carried on the liquor trade on behalf of the country gentry; and the farming of taxes and octroi was often placed in their hands. In Poland the guild system was less highly developed, and the Jews were sometimes able to carry on other handicrafts than those mentioned. They did so on a considerable scale especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as their number increased and commerce could no longer provide a living for them all. In addition

to the handicrafts in which consumption goods were finished for direct sale to the consumer, they turned to the crafts that render personal services, becoming barbers, coachmen, porters, launderers, cleaners of clothes, and so on.

2. Restricted occupational distribution in spite of equality under the law

The statutory restriction of the Jews to a few occupations which had characterized their situation down to the eighteenth century was removed in the countries in which they gained emancipation. Theoretically it should now have been possible for the Jews in these countries to spread into all occupations, and to approximate to the Christians in their occupational distribution. Actually, however, many factors retarded this development.

In the first place, the acquisition of a legal right did not always dispose of administrative and social obstacles. Under the law, for instance, the Jews could become officials, officers, judges, etc.; but in fact many Governments never appointed Jews to such offices, or appointed them in very limited numbers. The Jews could acquire land and carry on farming; but it was almost impossible for them to enter the closely-knit village communities and hold their own against the prejudices of the villagers.

In the second place, the Jews had for centuries been developing a commercial tradition; in this field they had knowledge and experience, and they knew what they were about. It was risky to take up a new and unfamiliar occupation. Consequently parents did their best, as a rule, to keep their children to the occupation in which they were experienced and which they regarded as the safest. Every Jew who had a trade that supported him tried to leave it to his son or son-in-law. With the im-

provements in communications in the nineteenth century, commerce increased by leaps and bounds; the Jews were able to extend their enterprises and to turn over from retail to wholesale trade, which brought them large profits.

Thirdly, in the nineteenth century commerce was as a rule, and especially in Central and Western Europe, a respected and profitable occupation. Small-scale farming and handicrafts were inferior to it in both respects, and thus had no attraction.

Fourthly, there were other respected and profitable occupations in addition to commerce — banking, industrial enterprise, and large-scale farming. Jews could take up these occupations only in so far as they had the necessary capital. On the other hand, many sons of poor Jewish parents starved themselves to success in the independent professions.

Fifthly, the Jews had been physically weakened and intellectually forced in their centuries of ghetto life, and they were not suited to every occupation. Occupations requiring great physical strength, or confined entirely to monotonous and uninspiring manual labour, were difficult for them to endure.

Sixthly, the command of rest on the Sabbath, which most Jews still obeyed, stood in the way of their entry into some occupations.

For all these reasons the legal opening of new occupations to the Jews had only a limited effect. Trade lost something of its importance to industry and the independent professions, but few Jews of Central and Western Europe entered official careers, or took up farming or handicrafts.

3. The Jews as pacemakers in the capitalist era

General economic developments favoured the transfer of Jews from retail to wholesale trading and to industrial enterprise. The rise of factory industries and the technical superiority of large over small enterprises called for the investment of large capital sums. These were furnished in some cases by Jews, who had been in the habit throughout the Middle Ages of keeping money in hand for commercial use and for lending. But whereas in the Middle Ages this money was largely lent to nobles who expended it on consumption goods or personal services (for instance, the recruiting and arming of soldiers), the lenders frequently coming into conflict with debtors who were unable to repay their loan, the Jews were now able to lend their money to producers who made large profits and repaid their loans without difficulty. The Jewish lender became a friend and partner of the borrower. In the past the rate of interest had had to be very high in view of the uncertainty of repayment; it was now possible to reduce it very substantially. The Jewish merchant also played an important part in organizing the marketing of industrial products. Often the Jewish capitalist became in the end an active member or a sleeping partner in an industrial enterprise, or acquired the enterprise. Christian owners of industrial enterprises were generally ex-craftsmen or small manufacturers who had expanded their business; the Jews came into large-scale industry from banking or commerce.

Under the guild system which dominated the economic life of the medieval cities, the endeavour to secure a large turnover and large earnings was regarded as immoral, as limiting the "livelihood" of the other guildsmen. The Jew, who was excluded from guild membership, had to carry on his business as an isolated individual and a

competitor of the guildsmen, and his efforts to extend his business were considered a sin against the sacred spirit of guild morality. A vestige of this moral outlook survives in the professional code of medical men and lawyers, which forbids practitioners to attempt to take away one another's clients. But in trade and in the handicrafts this idea disappeared with the ending of the guild system in the nineteenth century. The business methods of the Jews, their effort to extend their business and earn as much as possible, became the characteristic principle of the capitalist system. The Jews' commercial activities lost their exceptional character, and their social position in the business world became normalized. In banking, commerce, and industry, they advanced rapidly and in many cases attained prosperity and wealth.

4. Economic backwardness of the Jews in Eastern Europe before the Great War

The foregoing applies, in the main, to Western and Central Europe and oversea countries, where trade and industry were growing rapidly. In Eastern Europe the majority of the Jews were emancipated only after the Russian revolution of 1917; moreover, capitalist development did not begin until the second half of the nineteenth century; in some Oriental countries it has not begun yet. The result was that the economic advance of the Jews in these countries was much slower; the majority of the Jews continued throughout the nineteenth century to be small shopkeepers, hawkers, agents, publicans, artisans, or porters: they had neither the capital nor the general education and professional training that had smoothed the way for the rise of the Jews in industry, wholesale trade, and banking in the more advanced countries.

Another reason, and, perhaps, the principal one, for

the difference between the economic situation of the Jews in Eastern Europe and their situation in the countries with a developed capitalist system lay in the difference in their numbers relatively to the total populations. In Russia and Galicia the Jews totalled some 1,125,000 souls in 1800 ; this figure doubled every thirty-five to forty years, and had reached nearly 5,000,000 in 1880. In this economically backward region there was not room for so great a number in trade and industry, especially since the Russian Government had restricted the Jews' right of domicile to a special " pale of settlement ". In 1897 there were 5,110,000 Jews in European Russia, 96 per cent of them living within the pale of settlement. Within this pale the Jews formed 14 per cent of the total population in the Polish and 11 per cent in the Russian provinces. If they had been able to spread throughout the Russian Empire, they would have made only 5 per cent of the population and would have had sufficient opportunities of engaging in trade, industry, and handicrafts. The 200,000 Jews who had become entitled, in consequence of their University education or their wealth (as " first-class " merchants), to live outside the pale of settlement were very successful in trade and industry. A large part of the sugar and oil industries was in their hands. Many more were engaged as contractors in railway construction and as bankers and metal and timber merchants. But in the over-populated pale of settlement many of the Jews were unable to establish themselves in business ; they changed their occupation again and again, overcrowded the retail trades, brokerage business, and the handicrafts (tailoring, shoe-making, joinery, tinsmith's work, furriery, and the baker's and butcher's trades), and were always on the verge of ruin. It is true that alongside these men there were Jews who had a substantial share of the grain and timber trades, and that Jews were also strongly represented as employers

and workers in the workshops producing clothes, furniture, leather, foodstuffs, etc. Jews were also employed as workers in the tobacco and match factories. On the other hand, there were very few Jewish workers to be found in the mines of the Don basin or the sugar-mills in the Ukraine, although many of these enterprises belonged to Jews. In the textile centres of Lodz and Bialystok there were also many Jewish weavers, working either in the mills or on hand looms at home.

The situation of the Jews in Galicia, where in 1914 they numbered 800,000 souls, or 11 per cent of the population, was similar to that of the Jews in the pale of settlement, or perhaps rather worse, since Galicia was economically more backward. Only a fraction of the Jews had a more or less assured income. The majority lived by retail trade, the sale of alcoholic liquors, brokerage, and primitive handicrafts which brought in very small earnings. Some served as agents or factors for Christian landowners. Toward the end of the nineteenth century hundreds of thousands of Jews in Galicia, as in Russia, were driven to emigrate by the lack of the means of existence.

In Roumania the Jews did not receive political emancipation until the Great War, but their economic situation was fairly good until the eighties of the last century, since they formed only 2 to 3 per cent of the population, and the important grain trade and many industries were in their hands. Toward the end of the nineteenth century their situation grew worse owing to considerable Jewish immigration from Galicia and to the steadily increasing hostility of the Government.[1]

[1] For the passing over of the Eastern European Jews into agriculture see Chapter IX.

5. Economic changes in Europe after the Great War

The Great War brought great changes in the economic situation of the Jews.[1]

(*a*) In the course of the Russian revolution all important industrial and trading enterprises were taken over by the State; a state monopoly of foreign trade was introduced, and private trading was forbidden or made subject to social penalization. This robbed the majority of the Jews at a stroke of their means of livelihood. The nationalization of trade and industry had much less disastrous results for the Christians, since 85 per cent of them were engaged in agriculture and only 8 per cent in industry, trade, or handicrafts, while these three occupations accounted for 90 per cent of the Jews. With the introduction of the "New Economic Policy" the Government temporarily relieved the situation of the private traders, but in spite of this the situation of the Jews during this period was terrible. Hundreds of thousands of them perished, since the Government was not in a position to provide them with fresh employment as quickly as they were robbed of their existing means of livelihood. The twelve years from 1917 to 1929 belong to the most tragic chapters of the economic history of the Jews in Russia. Not until the introduction of the First Five-Year Plan in 1929, when a wide field of fresh activity was opened in industry, and the younger Jews streamed into the factories as workmen, did the situation of the Jews begin to improve. The improvement was further assisted by the fact that large numbers of Jews found employment as clerks in the administration and in the nationalized industrial enterprises, while most of the independent Jewish professional

[1] A good description of the economic situation of the Jews in the post-War period is given by Jakob Lestschinsky in *Das Jüdische Volk im neuen Europa*. Prague, 1934.

men (physicians, engineers, etc.) were taken into the public service. Jewish artisans who in the past had worked on their own account joined together in co-operative workshops, which were assisted by the Government by the supply of raw material and the placing of orders. Some 15,000 families migrated with Government assistance to the Crimea and to Birobidjan, where they engaged in farming. (See Chapter IX.) The younger generation of Jews took advantage in large numbers of the opportunity of unrestricted admission to the Universities.

The Jewish shopkeepers of pre-War times have almost entirely disappeared in Russia ; the Jewish factory workers, civil servants, and professional men have considerably increased in number. Since 1929 there has been a shortage of labour in Russia, and all who are willing and able to work have been given employment ; consequently, at least among the younger Jews, the *Luftmenschen* have disappeared, and both this fact and the diversification of work open to the Jews have improved their general economic situation. The only thing to be feared is that their disproportionate share of clerical and professional occupations may produce envy and hatred among the Christian population, much as in the capitalist countries, and that it places the Jews too much at the mercy of the Government of the day.

(*b*) The currency inflation which began after the War in all the States of Central and Eastern Europe destroyed a large part of the wealth of the Jews. As merchants and bankers they had placed most of their money in mortgages, in stocks and shares, and in debentures, and in consequence they were hit much harder by the inflation than the Christians, whose property consisted mainly of land and houses. So long as the inflation continued, many of the Jews were deceived as to their situation, imagining themselves to be wealthy, until in the end they were suddenly

reduced to beggary. Especially the relatively large class of persons among the Jews in Central and Western Europe who had been living on dividends and interest were ruined at a stroke.

(*c*) Since the Great War, State enterprise has been increasingly gaining ground over private enterprise. The production and distribution of goods has come more and more under State control. This has narrowed the field of activity for private enterprise. Wherever the State has laid hands on a branch of industry, the private Jewish enterprises in that branch have been driven out of business. Jewish workers have lost their means of existence through the same process; in Poland, for instance, since the introduction of State monopolies for spirits, matches, tobacco, salt, and some branches of export trade, not only the Jewish employers in these trades but also the Jewish clerks and workmen have been displaced. The same thing has happened where the State has taken over the control of banking and has concentrated this business in a few great banks. The dismissal of Jewish employees is due in these cases partly to the fact that the State prefers members of the ruling nationality to Jews, and partly to the fact that nationalization changes the character of an enterprise. State enterprises no longer require, like competing private enterprises, the versatility and initiative that distinguish the Jews, but can content themselves with bureaucratic administration.

(*d*) The spread of the co-operative system, especially in the production and the purchase and sale of farm produce, is another factor that has depressed the economic situation of the Jews since the War. In Eastern Galicia productive and distributive co-operation has assumed such dimensions among the Ukrainian peasants that the Jewish village shopkeepers have been deprived of their livelihood. The grain trade, in which very many Jews made their

living before the War in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Roumania, has been largely taken out of their hands by the co-operative trading organizations. The same is true of the trade in cattle, animal products, and seeds. One of the first steps taken by the Nazi Government in Germany was to transfer the whole of the trade in farm produce to special co-operatives, thus eliminating the Jews. The spread of co-operative shops in the towns and villages has everywhere cut severely into the trade of the Jewish shops.

(*e*) After the War many States began to pursue a policy of economic self-sufficiency or *Autarkie*, cutting down imports from abroad and producing the goods they need within their own frontiers. In some countries foreign trade has to this end been declared a State monopoly. This tendency has greatly reduced the volume of foreign trade, which used to be in no small degree in Jewish hands. Moreover, after the War a large number of States arose in the former territories of Russia and Austria-Hungary, and then set up customs barriers against each other, thus making an end of many trade connexions of the past. Thus the Jews of Poland, who used to produce for the vast Russian market, have lost this market since the War.

(*f*) The formation of trusts and great amalgamations in industry, trade, and banking, which set in after the War, has brought ruin to many of the smaller firms. More and more of the former owners of trading or manufacturing firms have been reduced to seeking employment in these great combines. This has worked greatly to the disadvantage of the Jews, since it is much more difficult for them than for Christians to secure such posts. In Germany, since 1933, under the Nazi régime, it has been quite impossible, and in many other countries a Jewish applicant for a post is at a serious disadvantage in competition with non-Jewish applicants.

(*g*) The intensification of anti-Semitism in many European countries has withdrawn more and more customers from the Jewish shopkeepers. In Poland there has also been a rapid growth of a Christian shopkeeping class, of which only the rudiments existed before the War. In Germany a boycott of Jewish shops has had State recognition and encouragement since 1933. In the small towns this boycott was from the outset so rigorous that the Jews had no alternative but to close their shops or sell them to Christians. In the large towns also, under pressure from the Government, especially in 1937 and 1938, the majority of the important Jewish enterprises were transferred from Jewish into "Aryan" hands. German firms in Christian hands were forced to dismiss their Jewish representatives at home and abroad. The Jews are no longer admitted even to the stock exchanges, once their special domain, or to the stockbrokers' offices. Since January 1, 1939, Jews have been entirely prohibited from carrying on any sort of retail business. All Jewish shops in Germany and Austria have been closed or "Aryanized".

Special legislation has steadily restricted the activities of the Jews in Germany since 1933 in other fields as well as in trade. At the very outset of the Nazi régime they were dismissed from all public offices. They were no longer permitted to lecture at the Universities or teach in the schools. They were forbidden to work as pharmacists, publishers of books or periodicals, journalists, architects, or artists, since, in the opinion of the Government, "as Jews they do not possess the requisite reliability and qualification for the production of German cultural assets (*Kulturgut*)". Jewish physicians and lawyers were restricted in their practice, and in 1938 their licences to practise were entirely withdrawn.

This process reached its culmination after the shooting in Paris in November 1938 of a German Embassy

counsellor by a seventeen-year-old Polish Jew. Pogroms of the worst kind against the Jews broke out in Germany; they were followed by the exclusion of the Jews from the last occupations remaining open to them, including all handicrafts, and by the imposition on them of a "fine" of 1000 million marks. Since then the Jews have had no share at all in general economic life in Germany. The few thousand Jews who still have practices or posts, such as legal consultants and treaters of the sick (titles imposed in substitution for "lawyers" and "physicians"), officials of the Jewish communities and organizations, teachers at Jewish schools, maidservants, or boarding-house and restaurant keepers, are absolutely confined to work for Jewish clients or employers. In the spring of 1939, when increased armament work had produced a shortage of labour, some hundreds of Jewish skilled workers were brought into the factories, but they were kept apart from the Christian workers; so also were some hundreds of Jews who were called up as labourers for road building.

At the present day the Jews have been depressed in Germany to the position, or even below the position, in which they stood in the eighteenth century, with the added bitterness of degradation after a century of emancipation. In the eighteenth century, moreover, they had at least become firmly established in trade, and were sure of their property, whereas today they are not safe in any single occupation from hostile State interference with their activities, and have no security of ownership.

Since the *Anschluss* of 1938 all these measures have been carried into effect in Austria, and the suddenness of their application there has had even more disastrous effects on the economic situation of the Jews than in Germany. In Italy also, in Slovakia, in Danzig, and in the German "Protectorate" of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, the anti-Semitic policy started by the Governments drove the Jews

out of the professions and subjected Jewish trade to a boycott.

With the exception of anti-Semitism, the factors that have changed the economic situation of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe can all be brought under one general heading — the restriction of free competition and of the principle of *laissez-aller* in economic life. State, municipalities, and public bodies have assumed control of many branches of economic life, while other branches have come under the control of great trusts or co-operatives. In this way the Jews have been deprived of the foundation on which they had built up their position since the beginning of the nineteenth century. They are no longer able to bring to bear their commercial alertness and industrial initiative, since one branch after another of trade and industry has been withdrawn from the field of private enterprise. The victory of the capitalist system meant economic advance for the Jews; its decline means their economic ruin.

Only in those European States such as France, Belgium, Holland, and Great Britain, in which the Liberal economic system has remained on the whole intact, has the economic situation of the Jews escaped from radical alteration through the Great War. Here their occupational distribution has remained substantially the same. Their prosperity has suffered through the currency depreciations that have come since the War, but in spite of this their situation may be described as satisfactory.

The Jews who had settled in France, Belgium, and England before 1880, descendants of Sephardic or German Jews, were almost exclusively occupied in banking, wholesale trade, or the independent professions, and belonged to the upper social strata of the population. After 1880 there began the immigration from Eastern Europe of large numbers belonging to a different class, mostly small

traders, artisans, and home workers. Originally there was a wide social gap between the Jews already settled and the new immigrants, but this has usually narrowed as the children of the immigrants acquired at school the language and the general standard of education of their new country.

6. The situation in the United States and other countries overseas

In the United States of America, Jewry is made up of three classes of immigrants. There is a very small number of Sephardic Jews, whose first pioneers came to New York in 1654; new arrivals brought the total up to some thousands by the beginning of the nineteenth century, though many were lost to Judaism by conversion and mixed marriages. The Sephardic immigration was followed in the nineteenth century by immigration from Germany, with a sprinkling of immigrants from Hungary and Eastern Europe, which brought the number of the Jews in America by 1880 to about 250,000. These German Jews became through their industry and their uprightness in business life the backbone of the Jewish population of the United States. They were entirely outnumbered, however, by the immigration which set in on an enormous scale in 1881 from Eastern Europe (Russia, Poland, Roumania). The total of the emigrants from Eastern Europe had reached rather more than three millions by 1937. Unlike their predecessors, the Sephardic and German Jews, most of whom belonged to the bourgeoisie and had been in possession of means, these emigrants from Eastern Europe were proletarians. But they brought with them the knowledge of many skilled trades, which they were able to pursue as the basis of their living. They did not, however, continue to work independently as they had done in Europe, but worked mostly as home workers, like the many tailors in

workshops, not for particular customers but for the market, carrying division of labour down to the smallest detail. This "commercializing" of handicrafts affected not only the production of men's and women's clothing but many other trades, such as the production of underclothing, ties, caps, shoes, cigars, and furniture. Many Jews, especially in the second generation, left this work and went into clerical or commercial employment or into the independent professions, but the Jews in America are much more largely employed in industry than the Jews of other countries. The clothing industry in the United States, and especially in New York, became the typical Jewish industry, in the same way as building and stonemasonry became typically Italian industries and laundry typically Chinese. The penetration of the Eastern European Jews into the clothing industry was facilitated by the fact that the German Jews had already taken up this trade as employers, at first with non-Jewish workers. The Eastern European Jews streamed into America, asking little in wages, and easily gaining the little experience needed for efficiency in consequence of the division of work in the workshops; the German Jews were thus able to employ them in large numbers. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Jews made up about half of the total number of workers in the clothing industry. Since then their share has fallen to about one-third, their place being taken by Christian immigrants from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Italy. Employment in such industries is typical only of the first generation of Jewish immigrants; with the severe restriction of immigration from Eastern Europe since 1925, there has been a considerable fall in the number of Jews entering the home industries.

By organizing in trade unions the workers in the clothing industry have succeeded, after long-continued struggles with the employers, in greatly improving their situation.

Working hours, often in the past from twelve to fourteen, have been reduced to eight and in some cases still less; wages, originally scarcely ten dollars a week, have been doubled and trebled and are now only fully equal to the wages of native American workers. The immigrants from Eastern Europe have also had great success as traders and in the real estate business. They bought and reclaimed valueless and unhealthy areas in New York and other American cities, and then converted them into populous districts. They have not succeeded, however, in making their way into certain spheres which are controlled by great trusts, such as the railways, the telephone industry, the motor industry, and the heavy industries. In the grain trade also, in contrast to Europe, they are only sparsely represented in the United States: this trade was already highly organized and in the hands of well-established firms when the Jewish mass immigration into America began. The economic crisis of 1929, which after a period of rapid advance threw the Jews back to the level of 1900 or 1910, has not been entirely overcome to this day.[1]

The weak point in the occupational distribution of the Jews in America is the overcrowding of the liberal professions. During the Prosperity period large numbers of Jewish parents sent their children to the Universities. The result has been that the number of Jewish physicians, lawyers, engineers, etc., has so increased that many of them are unable to earn a livelihood. But while in Germany and some of the States of Eastern Europe the deterioration in the economic situation of the Jews has resulted from State policy, in America, in spite of a perceptible growth of anti-Semitism, the deterioration has been mainly an out-

[1] This crisis was a heavy blow not only to the Jews but to the Christians. According to an estimate of the National Industrial Conference Board, the national wealth amounted in the United States in 1912 to 1950 dollars a head and in 1920 to 4507 dollars; in 1932 it had fallen back to 1981 dollars a head.

come of the depression, so that it may not be permanent. The income and the standard of living of the Jews in the United States are incomparably higher than those of the Jews of Eastern Europe.

As a rule the prosperity of the Jews in the United States is proportionate to the length of their residence there. According to a rough estimate made before the crisis of 1929, about 10 per cent of the American Jews were rich — these were the immigrants of the years before 1880, and their children ; 25 per cent were prosperous, and these consisted mainly of immigrants of 1880 to 1900 ; 50 per cent, mostly immigrants of 1900–1914, had a small but steady income ; 15 per cent were poor, and these were immigrants of the post-War period or immigrants of earlier periods who had been unable to make their way in American business life.

Immigrants of other nationalities into the United States, such as Italians, Syrians, Armenians, and Poles, have also substantially improved their economic situation, but not in the same measure as the Jews. The Syrians and Armenians are the equals of the Jews in trade, but most of them came from remote villages of the Near East, whereas the Jews, as Europeans and townspeople, were able to adapt themselves much more quickly to the life of the American cities. The Sephardic and German Jews were of service to the Jews of Eastern Europe at the outset, through the conception of the Jew as a cultivated European which they had spread in America ; they also helped the newcomers to fit themselves into American life. These circumstances, and the ease with which the Jews are able to assimilate the English language and culture, have enabled them to advance to prosperity much more rapidly than, for instance, the Italians or Poles, the second generation of whom have remained largely proletarian.

In Canada, there was scarcely any immigration from

Germany, but there was a small class of Sephardic Jews. Since the end of the nineteenth century many immigrants have come from Eastern Europe, but their economic advance has been less rapid than in the United States. The number of prosperous and influential Jews in Canada is very small. Most of the Jews belong to the lower middle class or the working class, and are employed as shopkeepers, agents, clerks, and salesmen or workers in the clothing and fur industries. Very few have taken up farming. In 1931, 29 per cent of the male and 32 per cent of the female Jews were employed as workers in factories and workshops; 44 and 51 per cent respectively were employed in trade. Only 2 per cent of Jews were physicians or lawyers, and 3 per cent of Jewesses teachers.[1]

In South America the Jews who had accompanied the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors had disappeared by the beginning of the nineteenth century through absorption into their Christian environment, with the exception of one or two thousand Jews in Dutch Guiana. A new immigration then began, mostly of Sephardim, to Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil. Their numbers had reached about 10,000 by 1890. They were merchants, cotton and sugar planters, and industrialists, and were highly respected as a class. About 1890 immigration into Brazil and the Argentine set in on a considerable scale from Eastern Europe, and also on a small scale from Morocco and Turkey. The first immigrants came as agricultural settlers under the aegis of the Jewish Colonization Association, founded by Baron Hirsch, to the Argentine and Brazil. They were followed by numbers of other Jews from Eastern Europe, who settled mainly in Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. Almost all of these immigrants began to get their living in their new country as pedlars,

[1] Louis Rosenberg, *Economic Problems facing Canadian Jewry* (Montreal, 1936), p. 11.

because, in contrast to the United States, the native labourers and craftsmen work for low wages with which the new arrivals could not compete. Many of these hawkers succeeded after some years in opening shops or starting hire purchase businesses. Some started workshops for the production of textiles, furniture, leather goods, office equipment, etc. In the past East European immigrants played a large part in the white slave traffic, but this has been almost entirely suppressed through the energetic measures which the Jews themselves adopted against these undesirable elements. They broke off all social intercourse with them, excluded them from the synagogues, and refused to allow them to be buried in the Jewish cemeteries. The great majority of the 275,000 Jews in the Argentine and the 55,000 in Brazil are still engaged in retail trade and small-scale industry. In recent years, however, not a few have become wholesalers, bankers, or factory owners, or have entered the independent professions.

The conditions are similar in Uruguay, where there are some 25,000 Jews, and Chile, with 10,000 Jews; these immigrants have come either direct from Europe or from the Argentine.

In general it is true of all the South American countries that the economic situation of the Jews improves in proportion to the length of the time they have lived there.[1]

In South Africa the great majority of the 100,000 Jews are immigrants who have come from Eastern Europe, especially Lithuania, since 1881. Most of them began as pedlars, small shopkeepers, and owners of eating-shops for natives, but made their way to prosperity fairly quickly. In the South African gold and diamond mines they are

[1] See my articles on the Jews in South America in the *Jüdische Rundschau* (Berlin, February–March 1936), published also in Spanish in book form as *Los Judios en America del Sur* (Buenos Aires, 1938).

not found among the workers, and rarely in technical positions, but are fairly strongly represented in the administrative posts and in the commercial and financial occupations connected with the extraction of gold and diamonds. They hold a very strong position on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Scarcely any Jews are labourers or skilled workers, this employment being in the hands of negroes, with whom they cannot compete. Since the Government went over to protectionism in 1925, Jews have turned increasingly to industry, especially the textile and leather branches. A few own large estates, which they have developed as farms of a model type. Some hundreds of Jews have also acquired small landed properties or cattle, and gained their living in this way, usually by leasing to negroes. With the growing prosperity of the immigrants, a good many of the second generation have entered the independent professions.[1]

7. Oriental countries

In the Oriental countries the economic situation of the Jews at the beginning of the nineteenth century was fairly uniform. In North Africa, and in Asiatic and European Turkey, the Jews were small traders, moneylenders, or craftsmen, living, like those around them, in wretched circumstances. There were few wholesalers or bankers among them, and scarcely any farmers or manufacturers. In Yemen, which was then part of the Ottoman Empire, and also in Kurdistan, the Jews had been known since ancient times as silversmiths, coppersmiths, saddlers, weavers, tailors, and whitewashers. They carry on these occupations to this day, but receive very low wages. Yemen, once a country enriched by its trade with India,

[1] L. Feldmann, *The Jews in South Africa* (published in Yiddish). Johannesburg, 1937.

has now lost its commercial importance and its wealth. Since the Great War more than 10,000 Jews have emigrated from Yemen to Palestine, where they have become agricultural, industrial, and building workers.

The situation of the Oriental Jews began to improve only after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, which had no interest in economic progress. After liberation from Turkish rule the Christian Balkan States, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Roumania, entered the European economic system. Since then the Jews have made substantial economic progress. Their situation is good in Yugoslavia, satisfactory in Bulgaria, and precarious in Roumania. It is bad in Salonica, where the 55,000 Jews have been driven out of their past predominance in trade owing to the mass immigration of Greeks from Asia Minor after the Great War. In North Africa their economic progress has been particularly striking in Algiers. In 1830, at the time of the French occupation of Algiers, the Jews were, with few exceptions, only pedlars, stall-holders, poverty-stricken craftsmen, or moneylenders who made seasonal loans to the farmers at high rates of interest. They are now largely represented in the independent professions, in retail trade, and in banking and industry. In Tunis, which came under French protectorate in 1881, their situation has also improved. In Egypt many Jews have acquired wealth through participation in cotton culture, the cotton trade, estate agency, banking, and the sugar industry. They have made less marked progress in Morocco and Tripoli, which only came under European government in the twentieth century. In these countries there is a great difference between the mass of the native Jews and the minority of foreign Jews (Sephardic Jews who acquired in the past, or lately, a foreign nationality, especially French, Italian, or British). The native Jews form the poor classes of the Jewish population; the foreign

Jews are wholesale dealers, great landowners, bankers, lawyers, physicians, and pharmacists.

The situation of the Jews is worst in those Oriental countries which remain to this day under native rule, such as Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Yemen. In pre-War Turkey there was a fairly numerous class of wealthy Jews, mostly foreigners, living in Constantinople. Since the War the situation of the Jews in Turkey has greatly deteriorated through the competition of the native Turks, who have been favoured by the Government. The introduction of State monopolies and restrictions of imports has also been a severe blow to the Jews. It is estimated that the number of Jews in Istanbul fell between 1919 and 1937 from 60,000 to 45,000, and in Smyrna from 10,000 to 6000, through emigration to France, England, Palestine, the United States, etc. In Iran and Afghanistan the great majority of the Jews have remained poor; they find it difficult to gain a living as small traders or craftsmen. In Iraq their situation has improved since the War: the administration was modernized under the British Mandate, which lasted until 1932, and the vast new oilfields invigorated the economic life of the country. The Jews have similarly been able to make economic progress in Syria under the French Mandate. In Palestine it has been of essential importance that, in connexion with the Zionist efforts to found a Jewish National Home, large capital sums flowed into the country from Jews all over the world, and that Jewish immigration set in on a large scale from Central and Eastern Europe.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE JEWS AT THE PRESENT TIME

1. Differences in the occupations of Jews and Christians

A comparison of the general occupational structure of Christians and Jews in a typically agrarian country like Poland and in a highly industrialized country like Germany is given in Table XV. In Poland and Germany

TABLE XV

Occupational Structure of Jews and non-Jews in Germany and Poland

Occupation	Percentage occupied in Poland (1931)		Percentage occupied in Germany (1933)	
	Jews	Christians	Jews	Non-Jews
Agriculture	4·4	67·5	1·0	21·0
Industry and handicrafts	42·2	16·9	19·1	38·8
Trade and insurance	36·6	2·8	52·5	16·9
Communications and transport	4·5	3·5		
The public services and the independent professions	6·2	9·3	10·7	7·8
Other occupations	6·1		16·7	15·5

the proportion of Jews engaged in agriculture is only one-fifteenth and one-twentieth of the proportion among non-Jews. In industry and handicrafts the non-Jews are represented in Germany on more than double the scale of

the Jews, with 38·8 against 19·1 per cent; in Poland the Christians are far behind the Jews, with 16·9 against 42·2. The explanation lies in the facts that in highly industrialized Germany the great factory predominates, whereas in Poland the workshop and the independent artisan predominate in industry and the handicrafts, and that the Jews are thinly represented among the factory workers but strongly represented in workshops and independent handicrafts. According to an investigation carried out in 1921 by the Joint Distribution Committee the percentages employed in workshops and factories in Poland were :

	Jews	Christians
In small workshops . .	78·6	14·8
„ factories	21·4	85·2
	100·0	100·0

In strong contrast to these figures for industry and handicrafts in Germany and Poland, we find 41·1 per cent of the Jews in Poland and 52·5 per cent of the Jews in Germany engaged in trade, insurance, communications, and transport. In Germany, with only 0·8 per cent of Jews, the majority of the Jews were able to support themselves in commerce; in Poland, with 9·8 per cent, many of the Jews had to gain their living as independent craftsmen or as workers in workshops and factories, since there is no more room for them in trade.

In Table XVI the percentage of Jews engaged in each country in the various branches of economic life is compared with their percentage of the total population. In agriculture they form only a fraction of their percentage of the total population; that percentage is exceeded in all countries by the percentage of the Jews who are engaged in industry and handicrafts, and still more by the percentage

TABLE XVI

Percentage of Jews in the Various Branches of Industry

Country	Year	Percentage of Jews in the Total Population	Percentage of Jews among all Persons occupied in —									
			Agriculture and Fisheries	Mining, Industry, and Handicrafts	Trade and Insurance	Transport	Public Services and Independent Professions	Army, Navy, and Air Service	Casual Labour	Domestic Service	No Occupation	Unspecified Occupations
Germany	1933	0·8	0·04	0·4	2·5		1·1	..*	..	0·3	.	..
Hungary	1930	5·1	0·3	7·2	41·4	3·0	9·0	0·3	1·4	1·0	7·2	
Poland	1931	9·8	0·7	20·0	52·7	11·4	13·4	..*	..	4·8	..	..
Czechoslovakia	1930	1·4	0·5	1·3	12·4	1·1	3·6	..	..	0·8	1·6	
Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia	1921	1·3	0·1	0·7	9·5	0·7	2·3	0·8	..	2·0		..
Slovakia	1921	4·5	0·8	5·7	50·3	2·2	9·6	1·0	..	5·8		..
Carpathian Ruthenia	1921	15·4	6·1	34·4	87·3	24·8	25·2	23·0	..	20·4		..
Latvia	1930	4·9	0·01	7·2	31·5	2·2	7·2	..	..	2·1	5·8	
Bulgaria	1926	0·8	0·003	2·1	9·9		6·0	6·6				
Palestine	1931	18·0 †	9·1	42·5	33·5	20·3	49·1	8·4 ‡	..	33·5	35·4	46·8

* The German and Polish censuses give no details for army and navy

† Excluding the nomad population.

‡ Including the police.

engaged in trade. In the public services also, and the independent professions, they are more strongly represented than in proportion to their percentage of the total population; this, however, is due to their strong representation in the independent professions: in the public services their percentage falls as a rule below the Jewish percentage of the total population.

The increasing competition offered to Jews by Christians in Europe of recent years in trade, the principal Jewish occupation, is shown by the fact that the percentage of Jews among the total number of persons engaged in trade has been steadily falling:

	Percentage of Jews among the Total Number of Persons engaged in Commerce			Percentage of Jews among the Total Number of Persons engaged in Commerce	
	Year	Per Cent		Year	Per Cent
Germany	1895	5·7	Budapest	1920	50·6
„	1907	4·2	Poland	1921	62·6
„	1925	3·0	„	1931	52·7
„	1933	2·5	Warsaw	1882	79·3
Hungary	1910	46·6	„	1920	62·0
„	1920	40·6	Czechoslovakia	1921	18·5
Budapest	1900	62·2	„	1930	12·4
„	1910	58·9			

Few official statistical data are available from oversea countries concerning the share of the Jews in the various occupations. But in December 1937 the Conference on Jewish Relations in New York carried out an investigation into the occupations of the Jews in New York, which showed a total of 924,258 Jews gainfully employed, making 27·4 per cent of all employed persons in the city. The percentages of Jews in the various occupations were as follows:

	Percentage of the Total Number of Jews gainfully occupied	Percentage of the Total Number of Persons in the Same Branch of Industry
Industry, including handicrafts and home industries	25·4	34·9
Building	5·2	14·4
Transport	2·7	13·0
Public utilities	0·5	4·1
Trade	25·7	41·3
Banking	2·4	11·8
Public services	2·2	21·4
Independent professions	7·4	30·9
Places of amusement	2·4	38·5
Domestic and personal services	10·9	30·0
Other occupations	1·7	20·8
Unemployed	13·5	33·3
Total	100·0	27·4

A striking figure in this table is the extraordinarily small share (4·1 per cent) of the Jews in the public utilities (electricity and water supply), less than one-sixth of their proportion (27·4 per cent) of all persons gainfully occupied. In transport (railways, tramways, etc.) and building, with 13 and 14·4 per cent, they have only about half of their general share in employment. That share is exceeded, on the other hand, by their share in trade (41·3 per cent), places of amusement (38·5), industry (34·9), the independent professions (30·9), and in domestic and personal services (30·0) (restaurants, laundries and cleaning establishments, hairdressing, and so on).

A survey of the occupational distribution of the Jews in the French possessions in North Africa (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis) made by M. Eisenbeth [1] shows that, of the total number of Jews in these countries (about 375,000), some 60,000 are gainfully occupied, distributed as follows among the various occupations :

[1] M. Eisenbeth, *Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord.* Algiers, 1936.

	Per Cent
Agriculture	1·5
Industry and handicrafts	36·2
Trade	40·0
Transport	2·3
Public services	2·5
Independent professions	6·6
Casual labour	9·3
Of no definite occupation	1·6
	100·0

For each person in employment there are 5·3 dependants, owing to the small number of Jewish women in industrial employment and the large number of children in Jewish families.

An estimate of the occupational distribution of the Jews of the whole world in 1938 is here given :

	Number Employed	Percentage
Agriculture	500,000	3·0
Industry and handicrafts	6,000,000	36·0
Trade and transport	6,500,000	38·9
Public services and independent professions	1,300,000	7·7
Casual labour and domestic service	300,000	1·8
Pensioners and persons of independent means	1,500,000	9·0
Other or unknown occupations	600,000	3·6
	16,700,000	100·0

2. Social position in employment

In Germany at the census of 1933 the percentages of the total number of persons gainfully employed were as follows for Jews and non-Jews in regard to social position:

	Jews	Non-Jews
Independent	46·0	16·4
Office employees and salesmen	34·5	17·1
Workmen	8·7	46·3
Members of families assisting the head of the family	9·6	16·4
Personal servants	1·2	3·8

The percentage of members of non-Jewish families helping the head of the family was almost double the figure for the Jews, owing to the fact that the employment of members of the family in agriculture, in which the Jews are scarcely represented, is much more general than in trade and in industry.

The percentages of the total number gainfully occupied in Poland at the census of 1921 were :

	Jews	Christians
Independent	50·4	22·2
Employees	5·1	3·8
Workmen	23·4	29·2
Members of families assisting . .	13·4	41·5
Unknown	7·7	3·3

Here we find again what was said about families helping the head of the family in Germany. On the other hand, in contrast to Germany, the percentage of workmen among the Jews in Poland is only a little below the percentage among the Christians: the reason is that, as already mentioned, the small industrial establishments predominate in Poland and the large in Germany, and the Jews are much more numerous as workmen in small establishments than in the large factories.

3. Burden of dependants

The stronger representation of Christians in agriculture also explains why the Jews are everywhere more heavily burdened with dependants who are not gainfully occupied than the Christians. In agriculture the members of the family begin to work on the farm from a relatively early age, and are registered accordingly in the statistics, as a rule, as persons gainfully occupied and not as dependants. In trade and industry the members of the family are much

more rarely employed in the enterprise run by the head of the family. In Poland, for instance, in 1921, the proportion of dependants to every 100 persons gainfully occupied, for all religious denominations, was 64 in agriculture against 179 in industry and 211 in trade. The Jews, who are mainly engaged in trade, had 195 dependants to every 100 gainfully occupied, while the Roman Catholics, who are mainly engaged in agriculture, had only 84. Thus every Jew gainfully occupied had more than twice as many dependants to support as the Catholic. In sharp contrast to this were the proportions in Germany at the census of 1933, which, it is true, registered only the members of families working for payment as gainfully occupied. Here the proportion of dependants was smaller for Jews than for non-Jews, being 39·7 against 41·6. This is partly due to the fact that the Jews in Germany have much fewer children than the Jews in Poland, or even than the Christians in Germany. In this case, moreover, the employment of women plays a part. The Jewish tradition has generally restricted the women of the family to housework, and has admitted them to employment only in businesses owned by the head of the family. Work for a woman in anyone else's office or shop was tabooed. In the last fifty years this tradition has been broken down in Western and Central Europe, and large numbers of Jewesses have taken employment in offices and shops. The same development set in rather later in Eastern Europe, where Jewesses, moreover, found employment in considerable numbers in factories and workshops. It is a common thing to find Jewesses at work in the workshops among the immigrants in the United States. In many cases, however, it is considered that a girl must give up workshop employment on marriage and devote herself to her duties as wife and mother.

4. Occupations of the Jews

(a) *In industry and handicrafts*

According to the occupational census of June 1933, the 240,487 Jews gainfully occupied in Germany formed 0·75 per cent of the total number of persons gainfully occupied in the country. In industry and handicrafts there were 55,655 Jews in employment, or 0·43 of the total number of persons engaged in industry and handicrafts. In those industries which from their nature are generally carried on as handicrafts, the tailors come first in absolute numbers with 6939, followed by 3556 butchers, 1273 home workers in the clothing industry, and 1010 plumbers. In percentage of all persons employed in the various trades the Jews were most strongly represented among the furriers with 6·33 ; the milliners, 2·16 ; hat and cap makers, 1·74 ; and butchers, 1·47.

Between 1933 and 1938, under the pressure applied by the National Socialist Government, almost all the industrial enterprises of any importance in Jewish hands were transferred to "Aryan" ownership. The only industries in which the Jews were still able to hold their own to any extent until 1938 were the textile and clothing industries, but here, too, in the course of 1938 they had to make way for the non-Jews. An inquiry undertaken by the national representative body of the German Jews in 1935 showed that there were then 8530 Jewish handicraftsmen working on their own account ; by the end of 1938 the few who still remained at work were those who worked exclusively for Jewish customers.

In Amsterdam, the world-centre of the diamond industry, the Jews have for centuries had a large share of the craft of diamond-cutting, and they form to this day a majority among the employers and a large part of the

workers. Since the end of the nineteenth century, Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe have also carried this industry to Antwerp. It is characteristic that it is precisely the work demanding the most careful calculation, the splitting of diamonds, that is carried out almost exclusively by Jewish workers.

In Czechoslovakia, according to the census of 1921, the number of Jews engaged in industry and handicrafts varied greatly from region to region. The proportions of Jews employed were :

	Percentage of the Total Population	Percentage of Persons employed in Industry and Handicrafts
In Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia .	1·3	0·7
„ Slovakia	4·5	5·7
„ Carpatho-Russia . . .	15·4	34·4

In Bohemia the proportion of Jews engaged in industry and handicrafts was only half the proportion of Jews among the total population, but in Carpatho-Russia it was more than double. We find here the same contrast as between Germany and Poland: in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia there is a predominance of large-scale industry, in which Jewish workers are rare, whereas in Carpatho-Russia there are scarcely any large-scale industries but only handicrafts, in which the Jews are strongly represented. In certain trades in Carpatho-Russia, the Jews formed the majority of all persons employed, thus :

In the clothing industry . . .	68·6 per cent
„ the hide and leather industries . .	55·7 „
„ the food industry	52·2 „

The results of the census of 1930 are not yet available for the separate regions, but only for Czechoslovakia as a whole. According to this census the Jews were most strongly represented in the following industries :

	Persons employed
Food trades	20,928
Clothing trade	14,712
Boot and shoe trade	8,253
Timber trade	5,754
Metal working	5,191
Machinery and instrument manufacture	4,439
Textile trades	4,144
Building	3,502

In Austria, according to the census of 1934, the Jews formed 9·3 per cent of the inhabitants of Vienna. There were 24,000 Jews engaged in industry and handicrafts, including the home industries, making 23·4 per cent of all persons employed. The percentage of Jews was highest in the following trades:

	Per Cent		Per Cent
Furriers	67·6	Dental mechanics	31·1
Jewellers	39·8	Braziers	23·2
Tailoresses	34·0	Opticians	21·5
Watchmakers	31·6		

The Jews were very numerous as employers in the so-called *Geschmacksindustrien*, the industries requiring taste, which are organized partly in factories and partly in workshops, producing women's clothing, leather goods, lace, and paper goods, mainly for export. The majority of the workers in these industries were, however, not Jews. Since the *Anschluss* in 1938 many of these employers have had to leave Vienna and have transferred their industries to other countries.

The list of registered handicraftsmen in Warsaw on January 1, 1930, shows a high proportion of Jews in the following crafts:

	Per Cent		Per Cent
Production of cheap jewellery	97·2	Tailors	68·3
Hat and cap making	94·6	Saddlers	65·1
Legging making	94·1	Braziers	63·8
Watchmaking	86·5	Painters	60·6
Jewellers	81·2	Bookbinders	58·5
Furriers	77·3	Bakers	56·2
		Paperhangers	53·5

In general the Jewish craftsmen in Poland have a lower standard of living and are worse paid than the Christians. The situation of the Jewish home workers is particularly bad. There are, for instance, some 2000 Jewish hand-loom weavers in Lodz working on looms in their homes. They are unable to compete with the great textile mills, and only find employment at the height of the season, when the mills have more orders than they can execute. During these three or four months of the year a weaver working 12 to 16 hours a day earns 20 zloty (4 dollars) a week. The single room in which he works, eats, and sleeps is filled with the dust of the loom. No better is the situation of the home workers producing caps and knitted goods in Warsaw and other Polish cities.

The Jews who emigrated from Eastern Europe to other European and to oversea countries in the last fifty years took with them the industries in which they were skilled, and introduced into such cities as Paris, Antwerp, London, Manchester, and Leeds various industries new to those cities, especially the production of men's and women's cheap clothing and of caps and leather goods. The influence of these immigrants was, however, greatest on the industry and handicrafts of the United States. An investigation carried out by the Conference on Jewish Relations in New York at the end of 1937 showed that one-quarter of all the Jews gainfully occupied in New York were employed in industry and handicrafts. Of the 34,000

industrial employers in New York 20,695, or almost two-thirds, were Jewish, while of the 636,996 workers 213,683, or one-third, were Jews. The proportion of Jews among the workers in the various branches of industry does not always run parallel with the proportion among the employers; there are great variations in this respect. In the fur industry, employing 13,265 persons in all, of whom 82·2 per cent are Jews, the Jews form 94·3 per cent of the employers and 80·7 per cent of the workers. In the clothing industry (the production of men's and women's clothes, underclothing, ties, etc.), in which Jews form 55·5 per cent, there are 10,360 Jewish employers, making 87·0 per cent of the total of employers, and 128,698 workers, making 53·8 per cent of the total of workers employed. Still sharper is the contrast in the textile industry, in which the 5550 Jews form 15·6 per cent of the persons employed; here the percentage of employers rises to 57·5 per cent and that of workers falls to 13·7 per cent. These differences seem again to depend mainly on the fact that the Jews are extensively employed as workers only in those industries with which they were already familiar in Eastern Europe, the workshop industries. They are much fewer in the factory industries, in transport, where only 11·1 per cent of the employers and 4·5 per cent of the workers are Jews, and in engineering, where 13·2 per cent of the employers and 4·0 per cent of the workers are Jews. In the telegraph and telephone services some 1000 Jews are employed, making only 1·5 per cent of the total.

Among the trade unions formed since 1888 on the initiative of the Jewish workers is the Union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which had some 150,000 members in 1937, of whom one-third were Jews. In the National Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, with 220,000 members in 1937, about one-half of the membership was Jewish. The Jews were equally strongly

represented in the Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers' Union in New York. In the past the Jews were even more strongly represented in these unions. The Jewish membership has fallen in recent decades, partly because Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe has almost entirely ceased, and partly because some employers, in order to be less exposed to trade union pressure, have transferred their enterprises from New York to other cities in which the percentage of Jews in the population is smaller, so that the Jews form only a small section of the workers. In addition to New York, there is a clothing industry of some importance in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Rochester. In these cities also the majority of the employers and a large proportion of the workers are Jewish.

The proportion of Jews among the independent craftsmen in the United States is small. The Jews working as furriers, watchmakers, jewellers, plumbers, cobblers, glaziers, cigar-makers, bakers, and electricians in most cases have shops.

Although the Jews in the United States have by now been strongly represented for half a century in the clothing industry, they have developed little attachment to it and are ambitious to rise in the social and economic sphere. The immigrants, even if they themselves are condemned to remain in workshops all their lives, place their children in some other occupation. The restriction of immigration has already resulted in a diminution of the percentage of Jews among these workers, and to all appearance the percentage will continue to fall.

(b) *In trade*

In trade it has been a characteristic of the Jews from the Middle Ages down to our own time that they do not wait for customers to come to them. They do all they can to bring their goods to the notice of their customers

or to convey information about them by advertising bills or advertisements in the newspapers, to awaken the desire to purchase them, and to facilitate payment through the hire-purchase system or in other ways. Since passing over in the course of the nineteenth century from retail to wholesale trade, they have become numerous among the owners of big stores and in the trade in metals, grain, cattle, and works of art, in bookselling, and in estate agency. They have created international organizations for the pearl trade in Paris, for the diamond trade in Amsterdam and Antwerp, and for the fur trade in London (until recently in Leipzig). They are strongly represented in the wholesale tobacco trade concentrated in Amsterdam and London. They are also largely represented among the shopkeepers dealing in textiles, ready-made clothes, cheap jewellery, leather goods, lace, and foodstuffs.

According to the occupational census of June 1933, the percentage of Jews in the various branches of commerce in Germany was as follows :

	Number of Jews engaged	Percentage among All Persons engaged in the Branch	Percentage of Alien Jews among the Jews
Estate agency	17,100	9·48	21·2
Timber trade	1,735	5·28	70·7
Ordinary wholesale and retail trades	114,659	4·21	23·1
Hawkers and old clothes dealers	2,196	3·99	47·1
Milliners	1,962	2·65	25·3
Administrators of blocks of flats	1,478	2·19	29·6
Banking	4,085	2·05	11·0
Insurance	1,908	1·77	15·5
Merchant tailors	14,823	1·71	36·9
Meat and fish trades	5,966	1·57	6·0
Publishing trade	1,831	1·44	24·5
Transport and selling at fairs and markets	1,262	0·93	24·0

In addition, 3006 Jews were engaged in the hotel and liquor trades, forming 0·39 per cent of the total number of persons engaged in these trades.

The figures of the occupational census of 1933 are now only of historical value, as since then the Jews have been driven out of trade step by step by special laws and regulations. The coping-stone was placed on this process by a regulation of November 1938 prohibiting the employment of Jews, with a few exceptions, in any sort of retail trade, and so robbing tens of thousands of Jews of their last means of existence.

In Vienna, where the Jews formed 9·3 per cent of the population, the number of Jews engaged in trade in 1934 was as follows:

	Number	Percentage of All Persons engaged
Wine trade	208	74·3
Textile trade	1186	73·3
Spirit trade	471	60·6
Oil and benzine	41	53·9
Shoe trade	759	53·0
Trade in skins	13	38·2
Trade in photographic articles	306	33·8
Pharmacy	118	26·3
Trade in leather goods	78	24·1
Bookselling and publishing	149	22·6
Millinery	37	20·9
Meat trade	162	11·2

The situation of the Jewish traders in Vienna has deteriorated with the general economic decay in Vienna since the Great War. Since the *Anschluss* in 1938 and the decrees of November 1938 Jews have been driven out of trade by the Government regulations. The Jewish shops have disappeared from the streets of Vienna.

In Poland the percentage of Jews among all the persons engaged in trade and insurance fell from 62·6 in 1921 to

52·7 in 1931. An investigation in 91 Polish cities showed that the number of Jewish shops fell from 8916 in 1932 to 8868 in 1937, while the number of Christian shops increased from 1287 to 2658 in the same period: the percentage of Jews among the shopkeepers fell from 87·4 to 77·0.[1] The Christian Poles, who have turned to trade in remarkable numbers since the Great War, come either from the villages, where the younger sons of the peasants are unable to get a living, or from among pensioned clerks and their widows or from among the craftsmen. Universal compulsory education has greatly increased the movement into trade.

The great majority of the Jewish shopkeepers in Poland are in a bad financial situation. Of the Jewish shopkeepers in Vilna,[2] in 1932,

76·7	per cent	had an annual turnover			of less than 10,000 zloty	(£400)
15·1	„	„	„	„	„ 10,000–25,000	„
8·2	„	„	„	„	„ over 25,000	„

This means that three-quarters of the Jewish shops were run on too small a scale to afford their owners any sort of adequate existence. New Polish laws of 1936 and 1937 placed the production and sale of milk under rigid supervision and restricted the ritual slaughter of animals; this has further reduced the trade of the Polish Jews.

In the United States the part played by the Jews in banking before the War was a much smaller one than in most of the countries of Europe, and in this there has been no change since the War. There are a few great Jewish bankers, but they are of far less importance than the great joint-stock banks, which are almost exclusively in Christian hands. There are also fewer Jewish owners of big stores than in Europe, though Jews own some of the

[1] Lestschinsky, in the monthly Yiddish review *Die Jiddische Ekonomik*. Warsaw, May 1937.

[2] Lestschinsky, *Das Jüdische Volk im Neuen Europa* (Prague, 1934), p. 62.

biggest and best organized of the stores and mail order firms. In recent years Jews have been opening so-called "super-markets", great stores in which overhead costs are reduced to a minimum by dispensing with costly packing and preparation for display and by arranging for customers to help themselves, thus enabling prices to be substantially reduced. The investigation instituted at the end of 1937 by the Conference on Jewish Relations in New York showed that 236,820 Jews were employed in New York in wholesale and retail trade, making 41·4 per cent of all persons so employed. Of these, 70,820, or 33·7 per cent, were engaged in wholesale trade, and 163,500, or 48·8 per cent, in retail trade. In addition, 2500 Jews were engaged in advertising. In the various branches of the retail trade the Jews were engaged as follows:

	Number	Percentage of All Persons gainfully occupied	Percentage of All Employers
Provision stores	63,150	58·2	72·5
Clothing stores	43,500	80·0	86·8
Furniture and domestic implement stores	9,100	59·3	87·3
Drug stores	8,800	63·3	66·3
Ironmongery stores	5,350	49·3	63·5
Second-hand stores	1,200	53·5	59·0
Other retail stores	16,000	43·5	57·7

In all these branches the percentage of Jews engaged is far higher than the general percentage of Jews (27·4) among all persons gainfully occupied; in the following branches it is less:

	Number	Percentage of All Persons gainfully occupied	Percentage of All Employers
Motor trade	1,500	12·4	7·5
General merchandise shops	11,200	18·1	48·8
Bars	3,500	20·8	23·7

The Jews are prominently represented in the United States in wholesale trade, especially in the tobacco and fur trades and in the trades in dress materials and precious stones. They are very weakly represented in the trade in grain, oil, coal, rubber, iron, agricultural machinery, and motor cars. Most of these branches of trade, and also certain branches of large-scale industry, were already highly organized by the Christians at the time when the mass immigration of the Jews began. This made it difficult for them to gain a footing in these trades, whereas in Europe they had a share in building them up from the start and had not to break through a strong front already in existence.

(c) *In the professions*

Before the emancipation, the only profession in which Jews were to be found, apart from the teachers and officials within the Jewish community, was the medical profession. Most of the Jewish physicians acquired their diplomas at the University of Padua. Many became famous and were summoned by kings to their courts. After most of the professions closed to the Jews in the Middle Ages had been reopened to them (in Central and Western Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century, and in Eastern Europe in the second half), the Jews entered these professions in growing numbers. The last barrier to their admission to the professions, and to the university education required for many professions, was brought down in 1917 by the Russian revolution. In Hungary there was a *numerus clausus* from 1920 to 1928 governing the admission of Jews into the Universities, but it was then removed through the intervention of the League of Nations. Since the National Socialist seizure of power in 1933, the Jews in Germany, including baptized Jews and "half-Jews", have again been excluded from the liberal professions and

from the Universities. At present they are entirely barred from the high schools. Similar measures were imposed in 1938 by Hungary and Italy.

The higher official positions were no less attractive to the Jews than the professions, but their percentage among officials is much smaller than in the professions, since in most countries Governments and public bodies have given preference to Christians; and even in some countries where the Jews had at one time been admitted to the Civil Service, they are being gradually eliminated from it.

In Prussia in 1925 the percentages of Jews in the various professions and public services were:

	Per Cent
In the public service (including the judicature and the army)	0·3
Among the officials of religion, the lawyers, and the members of liberal professions	2·3
In the public health and welfare services	2·3

The percentage of Jews was especially high in the following professions:

	Per Cent
Among journalists and writers	8·7
„ dentists	15·0
„ physicians and surgeons	15·5
„ lawyers	26·1

At the time of the German census of June 1933, a few months after the Nazi seizure of power, many Jews had already been dismissed from the public service, and the Jews had also begun to be excluded from the liberal professions. The number of Jews engaged in various professions was as follows:

	Number	Percentage of All Persons engaged
Physicians and surgeons	5557	10·9
Lawyers	3030	16·2
University professors and lecturers	192	2·6
Other teachers	1323	0·5
Journalists and writers	872	5·0
Pharmacists	657	3·6
Dentists	1041	8·6
Dental mechanics	653	8·6
Judges and public prosecutors	286	2·8
Referendare (law students awaiting appointment as assistant judges or lawyers)	367	2·5
Patent agents	79	13·3

Increasingly stringent regulations in the years that followed further reduced the numbers of Jews in the professions, and in 1938 the Government made a clean sweep of the Jewish medical men, dentists, and lawyers by prohibiting them from continuing to practise. Only a few hundred medical men (now called *Krankenbehandler*, " treaters of the sick ") and lawyers (now similarly deprived of the official name *Rechtsanwälte* and called *Rechtskonsulenten*, " legal consultants ") have been permitted to continue practising for Jewish patients and clients. All Jews had already been dismissed from the public services; not a single Jew remains in public employment. While a Jew was Prime Minister in France, Secretary for War in England, Foreign Minister in Russia, and Minister of Finance in the United States, a Jew could no longer fill in Germany the post of a municipal scavenger. Medical men thrown out of their practices in Germany have gone to Palestine, the United States, etc. Many of the discharged University professors have found employment in England, the United States, Palestine, and Turkey.

The great difference between the percentages of Jews in the liberal professions and in the public service is found also in Vienna, where, in 1934, 92 per cent

of the Austrian Jews were living. In 1934 Jews formed 17·9 per cent of the total number of persons engaged in the public service and the liberal professions (against 2·8 per cent of the population of Austria and 9·3 per cent in Vienna). They were represented as follows in the various professions in Vienna in 1934:

	Number	Percentage of All Persons so engaged
In the State service	682	0·4
„ the municipal services	152	0·3
Among University professors	190	28·6
„ pharmacists	68	31·5
„ physicians and surgeons	1542	47·2
„ lawyers	1341	62·0
„ dentists	446	62·7

In 1938, after the *Anschluss*, all the laws enacted in Germany against the Jews were extended to Austria. Of 1700 Jewish lawyers only 106, or about 6 per cent, were permitted to continue to practise, exclusively for Jewish clients, and a similar percentage was retained of Jewish medical men.

In Czechoslovakia, with a Jewish element amounting to 2·4 per cent of the total population, the percentage of Jews in certain occupational groups was as follows:

Postal, telegraph, and telephone services	0·3
Railways	0·2
Judicature and public administration	0·6
Other public services	6·6
Education and culture	0·9
Health service	6·9
Other professions (lawyers, engineers, etc.)	9·1
Army	1·4

Thus the proportion of actual official posts filled by Jews was far below their proportion of the population; their larger share in "Other public services" was due to the inclusion in this category in Eastern Czecho-

slovakia of many religious functionaries—rabbis, cantors, butchers, and synagogue attendants. In the health service (physicians and surgeons, dentists, pharmacists, male nurses, etc.) and in other liberal professions, the proportion of Jews exceeded their general proportion of the population. In the army their proportion was less: in Bohemia and Moravia it exceeded their proportion of the total population, but in Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia they had more children and so fewer men of military age.

We find the same contrast between the professions and official employment in Poland. At the census of 1921 the Jews formed only 4·2 per cent of the persons in State and municipal services, although the lawyers were included in this category; the percentage in the health services (physicians, dentists, etc.) was 17·6, in science and art 12·3, in theatre and music 24·4. Since the census of 1921, the share of the Jews in the State and municipal services has further diminished, because a large number of the Jewish officials appointed under Austrian rule in Galicia before the War gradually died out and were not replaced by Jewish officials. The number of Jewish teachers in the Polish high schools has fallen almost to zero. The exact figures for Jews are not available from the census of 1931, but it may be anticipated that they had grown much more numerous in the professions since 1921, especially among the lawyers and medical men. According to my own investigations in Poland at the beginning of 1938, the proportion of Jews among the lawyers was from 60 to 80 per cent in some districts, especially in Galicia.

In Hungary, similarly, according to the census of 1920, the percentage of Jews among the lawyers was 50·6, among the physicians and surgeons 46·3, among the veterinary surgeons 41·3, and among the chemists and engineers 39·1, but among officials and teachers it was no more than some 10 per cent; for the high schools the percentage was

officially given in 1935 as 3·1, and there was one single University professor. A decree issued in Hungary in 1939 provides for a *numerus clausus* of 6 per cent for Jews in the liberal professions; further details are given in Chapter XII.

The circumstances are different in Soviet Russia in so far as the employees in the great economic enterprises and the members of many of the professions rank as officials. The share of the Jews in these categories is much higher than in the public administration. In the highest Government department, the Politburo, and among the army officers of high rank there are few Jews. The census of 1926 showed the following numbers of Jews employed as officials of all categories:

	Number	Percentage of all Jews gainfully occupied
In the Ukraine	126,518	20·7
„ White Russia	25,508	16·9
„ Moscow	35,338	50·1
„ Leningrad	17,402	40·1

The high percentages in Moscow and Leningrad are explained by the fact that these cities are the administrative and economic centres of the whole Union, and consequently employ an exceptionally large number of officials. Since 1926 the number of the Jewish officials has considerably increased; according to semi-official estimates it has reached half a million (without dependants). In the army the Jews formed 2·1 per cent; their percentage among the total population was 1·8. Their percentage among the officers was also 2·1. The Soviet Union is the only country in the world in which the proportion of Jews in the army, both among officers and among the rank and file, exceeds their percentage of the total population.

Palestine contrasts with the countries already mentioned

in that the Jews are well represented not only in the professions but also in official positions. The census of 1931 showed their percentage of all persons gainfully employed to be 18·0; their percentage of persons employed was:

In the army[1] and police	8·4
„ „ public administration	22·5
Among lawyers and judges	44·7
„ physicians, dentists, and veterinary surgeons	72·8
In science and art	64·0
„ education	56·0

Since the census of 1931 the number of Jews in the public service, police, and liberal professions has become still larger. According to official statistics the numbers of Jews employed were as follows:

In the public administration (end of 1937), 1245, or 26·6 per cent of the total.
Among the temporary officials (end of 1937), 1213, or 11 per cent.
In the police (end of 1937), 758,[2] or 21·2 per cent.
Among the lawyers (1938), about 300, or 70 per cent.
Among the medical men (1938), 1795, or 88·9 per cent.

The high percentage of Jews in the professions in Palestine is partly due to the fact that with their higher cultural and economic standards they enter the legal and medical professions in much larger proportions than the indigenous population; but it is due still more to the enforced emigration from Germany, a large part of which was directed to Palestine. Between 1933 and 1938 the number of Jewish medical men grew from 452 to 1795. Until 1936 there was no limit on the admission of foreign medical men to practice in Palestine; since then the annual number of admissions has been restricted to 60.

In the United States we find the same picture as in

[1] The army was mainly composed of British troops sent out from England.

[2] This figure includes only the regular police. As a result of the disturbances, the number of Jews enrolled for defence and security purposes, both for active duty and as reserves, rose by July 1939 to nearly 21,000.

most European States: the Jews are much more numerous in the fee-earning than in the salary-earning professions. The investigation, carried out at the end of 1937 by the Conference on Jewish Relations in New York, showed that at that time their numbers and percentages in the liberal professions were as follows:

	Number	Percentage of All Persons so engaged
Judges and lawyers	12,000	65·7
Dentists	4,000	64·0
Musicians and music teachers	12,500	58·7
Physicians and surgeons	7,000	55·7
Painters, sculptors, and art teachers	6,000	50·8
Photographers	2,000	47·4
Actors and variety artistes	7,000	43·1
Journalists and writers	3,500	37·8
Architects	1,000	34·2
Teachers	10,000	29·4
Engineers	5,000	29·4
Chemists	1,000	28·6
Officials of religion	1,500	27·4

On the other hand, in the public service the proportion of Jews employed was less than their general percentage of all persons gainfully occupied (27·4). Thus, there were 18,000 in the public administration and 3,000 in the postal service in New York City, making 20·1 and 13·6 per cent of the totals employed. Among college professors there were 300 Jews or 11·1 per cent, and among trained nurses 2000, or 9·0 per cent.

The Jews played a large part in the development of the cinema, and are strongly represented at Hollywood, though it is an exaggeration to say that the Jews dominate the cinema industry in the United States. An investigation showed that Jews were in a majority on the boards of only two out of the eight principal cinema enterprises in the United States. In the studios at Hollywood about one-fifth of the principal employees are Jews, about two-fifths

of the producers, and about one-sixth of the screen playwriters.[1]

The extraordinary increase among the Jews engaged in the liberal professions in the United States has had the result that these professions, which in the past yielded a good income, are no longer able to provide the Jews practising them with the minimum necessary for existence. Many Jews have therefore been compelled, on the conclusion of their studies for one of the liberal professions, to turn to some occupation in trade and industry for which a University education was not necessary.

In Canada, much as in the United States, the percentage of Jews among all members of the fee-earning professions in 1931 was three times as high, and in the salary-earning professions only about half as high, as their general percentage of the population.[2]

In the Argentine in 1937 there were[3] the following numbers of Jews in the professions shown :

University professors	16
Physicians and surgeons	629
Dentists	268
Pharmacists	278
Lawyers	About 100
Engineers and architects	„ 90

These figures are high when it is considered that in the Argentine before the Great War there were scarcely any Jews in the liberal professions.

[1] Helen Zigmond, "Who makes the Movies ?", in the *Jewish Tribune*, Bombay, November 1938.

[2] Louis Rosenberg, *op. cit.* p. 14.

[3] *Inquiry of the Conference on Jewish Relations.* New York, 1938.

CHAPTER IX

RESULTS AND PROSPECTS OF THE EFFORTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL REDISTRIBUTION

SINCE the beginning of the efforts for the emancipation of the Jews, their concentration in trade and agency has been regarded by Governments and by many of the Jews themselves as a hindrance to their assimilation and their economic advance. Attempts began to be made in the countries of Eastern Europe to divert Jews into other, "productive" occupations. Migration is one form of adjustment of the Jews to the changing economic conditions in the world around them; occupational redistribution is another. But these two forms are frequently combined: in the last fifty years migrations have produced changes of occupation, and sometimes change of occupation was in fact one of the purposes of migration.

1. AGRICULTURE

The first efforts were directed to placing families on the land. As early as the end of the eighteenth century the Austrian Government provided land in Galicia for this purpose, and compelled the Jewish communities to furnish a certain number of the families in their midst with the necessary means for settlement. But down to 1803 this method of colonization produced only some 1100 families of Jewish settlers, and in the end the Government abandoned it.[1]

[1] Weinryb, *Neueste Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden in Russland und Polen* (Breslau, 1934), pp. 182, 213.

Other large-scale efforts to bring the Jews back to agriculture were made in the nineteenth century in Russia, the Argentine, and Palestine.[1] In Russia they were due to the initiative of the Government, which had deprived the Jews in 1804 of an important source of existence, the sale of alcoholic liquors, and sought to provide them with an alternative means of livelihood in agriculture in " New Russia " (the provinces of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav). The history of Jewish colonization in Russia thus extends over more than a hundred years ; since the beginning of the twentieth century the Jewish Colonization Association has played a part in it. In this history there are three stages :

(1) The so-called " old colonization " in the provinces of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav ;
(2) The " new colonization " begun in 1924 in the Crimea and the parts of the Ukraine bordering on it ;
(3) The colonization in Birobidjan, begun in 1928.

As a result of these campaigns some 8000 Jewish families are engaged in farming today in the settlements of the Old Colonization, some 12,000 in those of the New Colonization, and some 2000 in Birobidjan. In addition, there are some 1000 farming families in the Caucasus and Uzbekistan, while a further 17,000 families scattered all over Russia, especially near the towns, live partly or wholly by farming. Thus there are today in the Soviet Union some 40,000 Jewish families, totalling 200,000 souls, engaged in agriculture.

There are also Jewish farmers in the States that formed

[1] Details will be found in my works : *The Jews in the Modern World* (London, 1934), p. 159 *sqq.* ; *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine* (London, 1926) ; " Die juedische landwirtschaftliche Kolonisation in Russland ", in *Palaestina* (Vienna, 1928) Jahrgang II. pp. 2-28 ; " Die Juden in Suedamerika ", *Juedische Rundschau* (Berlin, February and March 1936), published in book form in Spanish as *Los Judios en America del Sur* (Buenos Aires, 1938).

part of Russia in the past — Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia. Some of these farmers turned to agriculture in the first half of the nineteenth century at the instance of the Russian Government; some settled later on their own initiative near the towns and maintained themselves by dairy and poultry farming or by growing vegetables and fruit, selling their produce either directly or through their co-operatives to Jewish consumers in the neighbouring town. There are some 10,000 of these farming families in Poland, some 3000 in Lithuania, and some 200 in Latvia. Similarly in Bessarabia, formerly part of Russia and now of Roumania, there are 3000 Jewish farming families who have been on the land since Tsarist times; since the Great War a further 2500 Jewish farming families have settled in their neighbourhood, the Roumanian Government having set free additional land for this purpose. The Jewish Colonization Association has given assistance to the Jewish farmers in these formerly Russian territories, as with the old and new settlers in Russia; it is taking no part, however, in the colonization in Birobidjan.

Agricultural colonization in the Argentine dates back to the decision of Baron Maurice Hirsch, of Paris, after the pogrom of 1881, to enable the Jews in Russia, who were being expelled from the villages, to settle as farmers in a country outside Europe. To this end he founded the Jewish Colonization Association (J.C.A.), with a capital of 200 million francs (£8 millions); through this association some 600,000 hectares (1,500,000 acres) of land was bought in the Argentine. Baron Hirsch hoped to be able to transfer millions of Russian Jews to the Argentine, but down to 1935 the J.C.A. settled only some 3356 families, or about 15,000 souls, on the land. This agricultural colonization paved the way, however, for the immigration of about a quarter of a million Jews into the Argentine.

The settlers were almost all without means, and the

J.C.A. supplied them not only with land but with credits with which to start farming; it also helped them at times of special need. But these farmers are not well situated, especially in view of the fall in grain and meat prices some years after the War. The younger generation have left the colonies in growing numbers, migrating to the towns. The number of settlers did not increase between 1925 and 1935; since then a few hundred Jewish settlers have come from Germany.

Agricultural colonization in Palestine owes its origin to the Khoveve Zion (Friends of Zion) movement in Russia, which, after the pogrom of 1881, induced some groups of young Jews (the "Biluim") to emigrate to Palestine as farmers. They would soon have come to grief through lack of means and experience if Baron Edmond de Rothschild, of Paris, had not come to their aid. This "father of Jewish colonization in Palestine" set the existing colonies on their feet and founded new ones. In 1900 he entrusted the continuation of his work to the Jewish Colonization Association, which itself founded a number of new colonies. In these new settlements the Association introduced the cultivation of grain; the earlier ones were devoted to vine-growing.

In 1908 the Zionist Organization made its first attempts at agricultural settlement on the basis of mixed farming, that is to say, the combination of dairy farming, poultry breeding, fodder and vegetable growing, and citrus and other fruit plantations. This organization made a practice of settling on the land only persons who had proved their fitness for agriculture by several years of agricultural work abroad or in Palestine. The old extensive farming, without irrigation, required 100 to 150 dunams (25 to 37½ acres) for each settler, but in mixed farming, carried on mainly on irrigated soil, 15 to 25 dunams are sufficient for a farm.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 greatly stimulated Zionist colonization in Palestine. The Jews of the whole world turned with increased interest to the development of Palestine as the Jewish National Home, and gave large sums to the two Zionist funds, Keren Kayemeth Leisrael, which purchases land, and Keren Hayesod, which, among other things, grants credits to agricultural settlers. Moreover, the good return on orange planting brought many Jewish capitalists to Palestine after the Great War as planters. There were about 240 Jewish agricultural settlements in Palestine in August 1939, with a population of some 100,000 souls. For 60,000 of these, agriculture is the sole or principal means of livelihood.

In Russia, the Argentine, and Palestine, colonization was largely organized by the Government or by a Jewish colonization society, with a view to creating special Jewish settlements. In other countries Jews have turned to agriculture individually or in small groups, without such assistance. This applies particularly to the Jews of Carpatho-Russia, who migrated there in the first half of the nineteenth century (when it was part of Hungary) as refugees from Russia and Galicia, and who were not all able to support themselves by trade. Some of them turned to agriculture, in which they remain engaged to this day, though on a small scale and in a very primitive form. They keep one or two cows, plant potatoes for their own consumption, and cultivate hemp for sale. Most of them are unable to live entirely by farming, and seek subsidiary employment as labourers or drivers in timber transport, or in other occupations. After the War, when Carpatho-Russia became part of Czechoslovakia, some of them sold their farms to Ruthenian farmers and went into the towns. The Jewish farmers with their families totalled 25,128 souls at the census of 1921, but this figure includes many who lived only partly by farming. Most of them are con-

centrated in the district of Marmorosh. In the disruption of Czechoslovakia, in the spring of 1939, Carpatho-Russia was reconquered by Hungary.

There are also Jewish farmers in Slovakia; with their families they totalled 14,569 souls in 1921. Some of them are large landowners and lease their land to Christians or work it with hired labour. In the whole of Czechoslovakia there were 41,694 Jews engaged in agriculture in 1921; by 1930 the figure had fallen to 30,505. After Slovakia had seceded from the Czechoslovak Republic, the new Slovak Government, strongly under Nazi influence, started expropriating Jewish farmers and dividing their land between the Christian Slovaks.

In the United States, especially round New York and Philadelphia, but also in other States as far as California, East European Jews have specialized in certain branches of agriculture, such as dairying, poultry farming, and the growing of flowers and fruit; they sell their produce direct to the consumer. Most of them have other sources of income, either from trading or from home industries or by taking lodgers in the summer. The Jewish Agricultural Society, founded in New York in 1900, assists them with loans. Their number is estimated at 20,000 families or 80,000 souls. Some 500 Jewish families are similarly engaged in farming in Canada.

There were also some 300 Jewish farmers in 1937 in South Africa.[1] Some of them are large landowners who have developed farms of the most modern kind with a large expenditure of capital; others are small owners, former traders who went into agriculture because they had to take land or cattle in payment of debts. Like all white farmers in South Africa, they do not work their farms themselves but through natives, who work either as labourers or as tenant farmers sharing the crops.

[1] J. Feldmann, *The Jews in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1937), p. 130.

The number of Jews who gain their living wholly or partly from agriculture may be estimated as follows for 1938:

(1) Russia	40,000	families,	amounting	to	200,000	persons	
(2) Poland	10,000	,,	,,	,,	50,000	,,	
(3) Lithuania	3,000	,,	,,	,,	15,000	,,	
(4) Latvia	200	,,	,,	,,	1,000	,,	
(5) Roumania	5,500	,,	,,	,,	30,000	,,	
(6) Czechoslovakia (Carpatho-Russia and Slovakia)	3,500	,,	,,	,,	20,000	,,	
(7) Argentine	3,500	,,	,,	,,	15,000	,,	
(8) Brazil	100	,,	,,	,,	500	,,	
(9) United States	20,000	,,	,,	,,	80,000	,,	
(10) Canada and South Africa	800	,,	,,	,,	4,000	,,	
(11) Palestine	15,000	,,	,,	,,	60,000	,,	
	101,600	,,	,,	,,	475,500	,,	

A study of the colonization schemes which have been carried out shows that the Jews have returned to agricultural employment in the following ways:

(1) Through the help of the State or of philanthropic societies, which provided them with land or stock or money, thus giving them advantages which they could not have enjoyed in an ordinary business way; it was in this manner that the Jewish agricultural colonies in Russia and the Argentine, and those of Baron Rothschild in Palestine, came into being. (*State or philanthropic settlement.*)

(2) By capitalists on a business basis, in places where large-scale agriculture appeared to be a safe investment and cheap labour was available for profitable working. For these capitalists, agriculture was often not a permanent profession but an investment, not very different from a factory or a trading concern. To these categories belong, for example, the Jewish sugar-planters in Central and South America in the seventeenth century, the Jewish large land-

owners in Hungary, Slovakia, etc., and to some extent the owners of large orange-plantations in Palestine. (*Capitalist or planter settlement.*)

(3) In order to serve Jewish customers in a neighbouring town, Jews with a little capital of their own have turned to those branches of agriculture which permit direct sale to consumers, such as the production of milk, butter, cheese, vegetables, fruit, grapes, eggs, poultry, flowers, or tobacco. To this class belong most of the Jewish farmers in the neighbourhood of the large cities in the United States, Poland, and Roumania. By specializing they avoid hopeless competition with the Christian farmers, and secure a good deal of the profit which otherwise goes to the middleman. (*Semi-commercial or semi-urban settlement.*)

(4) From compulsion: the settlement in Russia under Nicholas I. (*Compulsory colonization.*)

(5) On national grounds, partly assisted by phil anthropic or national societies: middle-class and workers' settlements in Palestine. (*National settlement.*)

Considering that the beginnings of Jewish agriculture date from more than a century ago, and that in the last fifty years two of the richest Jews in the world, Baron Rothschild and Baron Hirsch, and later the Zionist Organization, gave huge sums to agricultural colonization, the result so far attained — that a bare half million persons (3 per cent of world Jewry) gain their living wholly or partly from agriculture — seems very small. But the return of town-dwellers to the land is an extraordinarily difficult process among all peoples, and not only among the Jews. The town dweller's is an easier and more exciting life, and he is not easily induced, or, indeed, enabled, to return to the hard and monotonous life of the country. This has been abundantly demonstrated by the failures which, in spite of the expenditure of large sums of money, many Governments experienced after the Great War in

attempts to settle ex-soldiers of urban origin on the land.

The efforts to transfer the Jews to agriculture had receded into the background some years before the War. In Central and Western Europe and in the oversea countries, in consequence of the economic prosperity, the Jews were able to establish themselves in their traditional occupations without great difficulty; in Eastern Europe the lack of land and the bad condition of agriculture hindered the transfer to rural life. Since Jewish emigration began from Germany under the Nazi régime the efforts in this direction have again become of importance. The Governments of certain countries are prepared to admit Jewish immigrants, but only on condition that they devote themselves to agriculture. This requirement comes up against the following difficulties:

(1) The lack of agricultural training among the Jews;
(2) The considerable amount of capital necessary;
(3) The length of the unproductive preparatory period in agricultural colonization in a new country.

Many of the past failures in Jewish agricultural settlement are due to the settlement of urban Jews who had had no agricultural training, and who proceeded to make serious and costly mistakes, or else proved entirely unsuited to the work. If these mistakes and the resulting failures are to be avoided, settlers must have a preliminary training either as farm labourers or in a school of agriculture, and those who are unsuitable must be eliminated. Up to the present there have been only scanty opportunities for this preparation. The Jewish agricultural schools in Palestine (that in Mikveh Israel was founded as early as 1870 by Charles Netter at the instance of the Alliance Israélite Universelle) can take some 1000 boys and girls,[1] and the

[1] Palestine is the only country in which there are special Jewish agricultural schools and training farms for girls (mostly maintained by the

remaining similar establishments in the world can take several hundred pupils. In Palestine there is employment for several thousands as farm workers. In the European countries (especially in Denmark, France, Holland, England, and Sweden) the Hehaluz society and others interested in agricultural training have succeeded in obtaining farm work for thousands of young people. Still, if the transference of the Jews to agriculture is really to lead to a change of occupation on a large scale and to the development of big new opportunities for emigration, the access to agricultural training will have to be opened out considerably.

But the pressure from the Government has given the emigration from Germany the character of flight, and there is no time for thorough training, which takes at least two years. Moreover, many of the emigrants have already passed the age (about 40 years) up to which a change over to agriculture can hold out any promise of success. This emigration must therefore be looked upon primarily as a salvage operation; the emigrants must go where there is some prospect of a living for them, and transference to agriculture, however desirable in itself, can only play a secondary part in their case.

For agricultural settlement at least £1000 per family is necessary in most countries. The Jew who still possesses £1000 will, with this capital, usually be able to make a living in an easier and a more familiar occupation, and will not voluntarily choose work on the land. Only in Palestine have Jews from Germany done this in the period between 1933 and 1938. In all countries in which the Governments have aimed at a return of town dwellers to the land, the attempts have regularly been combined with a State

Women's International Zionist Organization and the American Women's League). In April 1939 there were 640 trainees in the agricultural training institutes supported or subsidized by these organizations.

subsidy. The State has provided the settlers with land and advanced them at least a part of the necessary funds for making a start, on very favourable terms. Similarly with the Jews, settlement on the land depends on a large part of the requisite capital being provided from public sources. If the immigration countries do not contribute to this, and the burden is laid entirely on the Jewish philanthropic societies, which at the present time are more than ever overwhelmed with appeals from refugees, it is not clear how the enormous sums which are necessary for mass settlement on the land can be obtained. The insufficiency of means will permit such settlement only on a small scale. Moreover, assistance has to be given to so many Jews, out of limited resources, that the particularly costly method of agricultural settlement seems justified only in those cases in which there is a prospect that the agricultural colonization will provide the basis for a large influx into the towns.

A further difficulty is the length of the unproductive period. Agricultural colonization of town dwellers in a new country, started on a large scale on the basis of theoretical plans, and allowing them no time for learning from practical experience, almost invariably ends in failure or secures results insignificant in comparison with the cost. Settlement on the land must grow organically from small beginnings if it is to succeed. The greater the number of Jewish settlers already living in a country, the more easily new settlers can be absorbed. Palestine, which in 1933 had already a numerous Jewish farming population, and had attained a definite system of settlement on the land, was able, up to the end of 1938, to absorb in agriculture some 10,000 Jews from Germany. The J.C.A. has settled 300 German families in the Argentine (mostly in the Avigdor colony) between 1933 and 1938. The settlement in Kenya, proposed by the British Government, is

intended in the first place to take only 30 families. In Dutch Guiana the Government has agreed to the settlement of 100 Jewish families from Germany.

The committee of experts sent to Madagascar by the Polish Government in 1937 did not report favourably on the prospects for settlement. Similarly in the many other countries which have been proposed for agricultural settlement (British Columbia, San Domingo, Lower California, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Abyssinia, Australia) no practical steps in this direction have resulted.[1] The report of a commission of experts sent to British Guiana in 1939 with the support of the British Government regards the settlement of some thousands of Jews as not impossible, but as depending on preliminary investigations which will take time.

The search for countries in which Jewish agricultural settlement could be promoted has been confined mainly to the tropical and sub-tropical zones; this is natural, since in Europe, and in the temperate zones outside Europe, there are no unoccupied cultivable regions to which Jewish colonization could be directed.[2] In the temperate zones the indigenous agricultural population is already suffering from land shortage, and would oppose the sale of land to Jews on any important scale. (The extension of Jewish colonization in the Crimea, for instance, came to grief through this obstacle.) There is still plenty of cultivable land unused in tropical and sub-tropical countries, but here men of the white race are unable, except, perhaps, on plateaus at 5000 or 6000 feet above sea-level, to undertake work in the fields without grave injury to their

[1] See Akiba J. Ettinger, "The Search for New Settlement Territories", in *Palestine and Middle East* (Tel Aviv, 1939), No. 2.

[2] An exception is Mesopotamia (Iraq), which could support many times its present agricultural population if its irrigation system were extended on an important scale. In September 1939 Alaska was suggested in the United States as a suitable territory for Jewish settlement.

health. They have to depend on native labour, and this reduces the settler's net income. The standard of living, moreover, of the native farmers (who mainly produce for their own consumption and for the local market) is so low that the European can only compete with them by intensive cultivation, which demands considerable capital investment. He must usually become a planter, producing for export, and his produce will be subject to all the fluctuations of the world market. In a period of low prices there will always be a risk that he will be reduced to returning to city life to escape from ruin.

The road to Jewish agricultural colonization is beset with obstacles, and it is doubtful whether they can be overcome. In Palestine they have been overcome only thanks to the national enthusiasm. But for this, colonization would here also have been a hopeless effort to swim against the stream.

2. Handicrafts

Among the Jews of Eastern Europe there are already too many engaged in handicrafts. Numbers of them, moreover, have little skill, earning only a scanty living and that with the greatest difficulty. The efforts to identify the Jews more closely with handicrafts must be directed in Eastern Europe to raising their low standard of proficiency or to opening up to them new crafts in which they have been little represented. The usual European method of training through apprenticeship is possible for the Jews only to a limited degree. Apprenticeship to Christian masters meets with difficulties in consequence of religious and cultural differences, and in many countries, such as Poland and Roumania, only those few Jewish craftsmen who have qualified as masters have the right to take apprentices. Thus the principal means of giving the Jews

a better training is the spread of technical schools. In 1936 the "Ort" Society, of Warsaw, was maintaining 137 schools for boys and girls (including extension courses for adults) in Poland, Roumania, Lithuania, Latvia, France, and Bulgaria, with 7600 pupils (4551 of whom were in Poland). The handicrafts taught included especially joinery, weaving, and locksmith's work, and for the girls sewing, knitting, domestic economy, and hairdressing. In addition, in 1935 this society apprenticed some 1000 boys and 500 girls to masters of handicrafts. The "Wuzet" society, of Lemberg, maintains similar trade schools in Galicia. The Hehaluz is active in the technical and industrial training of the young for Palestine, and has maintained groups of workmen in various countries of Europe, as well as trade schools (with the support of the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Germany) in various German towns. These last, however, were mostly forced by the German Government to close in November and December 1938: in September 1938 there were 31 training centres with 3800 pupils; in May 1939 only five were left, with 500 pupils. Jews in Poland also attend non-Jewish trade schools; in 1935 these Jewish pupils numbered 4803, or 19·2 per cent of the total.[1] There are a few trade schools in Palestine, including the Ludwig Tietz school at Jagur, near Haifa (particularly devoted to training Jewish boys from Germany), the handicraft school of the Technicon at Haifa, and the Max Pine School at Tel-Aviv.

An investigation in Budapest in 1930 showed that 1234, or 10 per cent, of the male apprentices, and 514, or 15·6 per cent, of the female ones, were Jews. The boys were principally tailors, printers, fitters, goldsmiths, barbers, opticians, and saddlers, and the girls seamstresses, milliners, hairdressers, and photographers.

The emigration of the Jews from Germany since 1933

[1] J. Bornstein, *Jewish Handicrafts in Poland* (Polish). Warsaw, 1936.

has strengthened not only the movement for transference to agriculture, but also that for entry into the handicrafts, since in many countries people with knowledge of a trade have a better prospect of admittance. There has inevitably been a tendency to curtail the period of training as much as possible, and to give preference to those trades which can be learnt in a comparatively short time. It is questionable, however, whether this unavoidable haste and limitation will produce artisans whose work in the new country will be good enough to enable them to compete and to continue practising their trade. The conflict between the urgent need of the moment and a thorough training for a permanent change of occupation often produces solutions dictated by the short view.

The old idea that a knowledge of a trade ensures a good living is no longer universally true. Many artisans can only make headway with the greatest difficulty against factory and organized home production, and in many oversea countries Europeans cannot compete with the native workers with their low standard of life. Jewish artisans have been most successful as workers in large workshops, because here they could improve their chances by means of better organization and division of labour. Probably further development will have to take this direction.

3. Factory work

Factory work has an advantage over agriculture or handicrafts in that young people can enter the factories without training and rise to the rank of specialized worker by practice in particular operations. In the diamond industry in Amsterdam the Jews have for centuries worked in the factories, and have been very successful at this occupation. Similarly, Jews are employed in large numbers in the great spinning and weaving mills of Eastern Europe.

In Soviet Russia thousands of Jews have entered the factories. In the clothing industry in the United States (which, however, is carried on less in real factories than in large and small workshops) there are masses of Jewish workers who have started without any special knowledge and have gradually acquired great proficiency in certain branches of the work.

Any further increase of Jews in factory work will depend upon —

(1) Whether factory owners are ready to employ Jewish workers;
(2) Whether the wages paid amount to as much as they can earn in other occupations which are easier for them;
(3) The social status of the factory worker.

The first condition is not easily fulfilled. In non-Jewish factories the resistance of the employer and of his workmen is usually insuperable; but even in factories owned by Jews, in which Christians have been employed in the past, the workers are generally jealous of the intrusion of Jews into vacancies. The simplest case is that of a factory controlled by Jewish employers which from the outset has taken Jewish workers exclusively or almost so — so long as the recruitment of labour is subject to the free decision of the employer, the trade unions have no right of veto, and other and cheaper labour does not undercut the Jews.

The overcrowding of Jews in commercial occupations may reach such a pitch that they earn even less there than in factory work. The more the scarcity value of brain-work is depressed by the improvement in general education, the less prospect the Jews will have of maintaining their past position of advantage in trade. This has already happened to some extent in Poland, and has led to many Jews taking employment in the factories and larger workshops.

Up to the present the factory worker has belonged to the lowest social class in " bourgeois " States. This fact, coupled with the Jews' dislike for monotonous manual work and for the strict discipline of the factory, has hindered their transfer to factory employment. In those countries in which the factory worker enjoys a higher social standing, the Jews show a greater inclination to this work. The flow of young Jews into the factories in Russia is closely connected with the fact that the factory worker belongs to the ruling class. In Palestine the Jews have filled every vacancy in the Jewish industrial undertakings, because the worker has a much higher social position than in the " bourgeois " European countries, and industrial work, just as agricultural work, is looked upon as a national duty.

For the transfer of the Jews to work in factories and large workshops the prospect appears to be best where agrarian or semi-agrarian countries are attempting industrialization, but have little or no success on account of lack of capital and of experienced organizers and workers. This condition provides an opportunity of fruitful Jewish co-operation with the Governments of these countries. Experience in recent times in Turkey, Persia, and Egypt has shown [1] that it is possible, by careful organization and centralized control, to build up large industries in a relatively short time. In the industrial countries of Europe and in the United States, and especially in Palestine, the Jews have shown that they possess great abilities in the sphere of industry. As employers and employees they founded the clothing industry in the United States, and brought it to its present position, and they could also introduce it into other countries, such as those of South America,

[1] See on this subject the study by Bertha Radt, published by the Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem : *The Rôle of Governments and Banks in the Industrialization of the Near East, in Palestine, and the Middle East.* Tel-Aviv, 1938.

and thereby create great wealth in those countries. The same is true of the textile industry (spinning, weaving, and the production of knitted goods), in which they hold a leading position in Eastern Europe as employers, and are also extensively engaged as workers. Textile enterprises which have been established by Jews, as in Buenos Aires, have become model businesses, and their great economic utility has been ungrudgingly acknowledged.

The Jews could also bring valuable experience to the starting of sugar factories, of beer, wine, and spirit production, of tobacco manufacture, of paper, leather, china, and glass industries, and of many other branches of manufacture. What is needed is to convince Governments that, by attracting the Jews who are driven to migrate, they have a unique opportunity of securing a much more rapid industrial development in their countries than would otherwise be the case. This venture on the part of the Governments would be by no means without precedent: they would merely be assisting a repetition of what refugees have done in the past. Huguenot, Puritan, Flemish, and other refugees have taken their industries with them, contributing in this way in no small degree to industrial development in their new countries. Co-operation with Governments could be facilitated by the foundation of a great Jewish organization (perhaps after the model of the Misr Bank in Egypt) which would undertake the financing and technical supervision of new industrial concerns, and which would represent them in negotiations with Governments. The efforts to settle Jews on the land in undeveloped countries would also gain a good deal of impetus if accompanied by similar efforts in the industrial sphere, since industry can be built up more quickly, and at less cost per head of immigrants, than agriculture.

PART III

BETWEEN THE MILLSTONES OF ANTI-SEMITISM AND ASSIMILATION

CHAPTER X

THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIC EQUALITY

1. Historical retrospect

Two proclamations stand out like beacons to illuminate the re-entry of Jewry into equal citizenship, closed to them since the Middle Ages. The first is contained in the American Revolutionary Declarations of 1776 — that no man "can . . . be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen on account of his religious sentiments or peculiar mode of religious worship" — while the second is the resolution passed by the French National Assembly in 1791 granting civil rights to all French Jews. This resolution was the logical consequence of the theory that all men are equal in the eyes of the law. Characteristics peculiar to separate groups of people were regarded as something purely temporary, a passing result of variations in social and political conditions. With legal and social equality granted, the ethnical characteristics of the Jews would be bound to disappear. "*Aux Juifs comme nation nous ne donnons rien; aux Juifs comme individus nous donnons tout*," said Clermont-Tonnerre in the National Assembly, and similar sentiments were expressed by the Abbé Grégoire. About the same time the Dutch National Assembly laid down only a single condition for the attainment of equal citizenship by the Jews, and that was the renunciation of their customs and communal autonomy, so that the difference existing between them and

their Christian fellow citizens should be one of religion alone.

The tendency to improve the condition of the Jews spread from France to Central Europe, though in several countries it met with considerable opposition, and more than half a century passed before the right of equal citizenship was established for them in Belgium, Holland, England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, and Italy. In the Balkans Greece, after the war of liberation against the Turks in 1830, was the first State to recognize them as fully qualified citizens, while the Berlin Treaty of 1878 placed the Jews of the newly created States of Bulgaria and Serbia on an equal footing with their other citizens. Only Russia and Roumania stubbornly held out against the movement and continued to treat the Jews as legally inferior. The Revolution of 1917 swept away the restrictions on the Jews in Russia, and the Peace Treaties attempted to obtain civic equality for the Jews in the Succession and the Baltic States. It was widely supposed that this had made an end for all time of the disabilities of the Jews in civic and political life, and that a new epoch was opening for them of full civic and social equality in Europe. But these hopes were of short duration. The seizure of power by the National Socialists in Germany in 1933 was followed by the reintroduction of legal restrictions of Jewish rights which were far more stringent than those of the pre-emancipation period. In 1938 laws were introduced in Hungary and Italy which once more restricted Jewish rights in many fields. These are dealt with in Chapter XII.

In many countries outside Europe civic rights were granted to the Jews in the eighteenth or the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1855 equality of rights was granted to them in Turkey, which besides European and Asiatic territory included various regions of North Africa. In Algeria, conquered by the French in 1833, the Decree

Crémieux of 1870 put Jews on the same footing as French citizens, so that they enjoy the rights not only of natives but of Europeans. In Tunisia and Morocco France has denied the right of naturalization to the Jews as a group; they are considered to be natives of these countries and can only acquire French nationality by individual application. In Persia a decree of equalization was passed in 1906. In Yemen the Jews are subjected to this day to exceptional legislation; Jewish orphans, for instance, are compulsorily converted to Islam. The Jews in Afghanistan also suffer to this day from inadequate legal and administrative protection.

2. Incomplete attainment of equal rights

The impetus for the grant of equality to Jews came from the "Enlightenment" movement of the eighteenth century, which culminated in the French Revolution; but after this beginning, in which the Jews had played no part of any great importance, they took up the struggle for equality in all countries in which they had not yet been recognized as equals. In this struggle notable services were rendered by various Jewish organizations, such as the Board of Deputies of British Jews (founded in 1760) in London; the Alliance Israélite Universelle (founded in 1860) in Paris; the Anglo-Jewish Association (founded in 1871) in London, which set up jointly with the Board of Deputies a "Joint Foreign Committee" to assist Jews everywhere in the struggle for legal and political equality of rights; the Israelitische Allianz (founded in 1875) in Vienna; the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden (founded in 1901) in Berlin; the American Jewish Committee in New York (founded in 1906); the Anti-Defamation League of the Bnai Brith in the United States (founded in 1913); the American Jewish Congress in New York (founded in

1922); and the Jewish Labor Committee in New York (founded 1934). Some of these organizations, for instance the Alliance Israélite and the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, though founded to represent the political interests of Jewry, turned later to other work; the Alliance devoted itself to Jewish education in Oriental countries, and the Hilfsverein to the same object before the War, and after it to the care of Jewish emigrants.

Once the struggle had been decided in favour of Jewry all the world over, there would have been no need for these organizations to continue their work had the equalization been put into effect. But in many countries the Governments were dilatory, and the organizations tried to influence these Governments by appealing to public opinion or inducing friendly Governments to mediate. In some cases the mere existence of these organizations, and their ability to give publicity to infringements of the legal equalization, has sufficed to deter Governments from proposed infringements. These infringements may be divided into five categories:

(1) Refusal of naturalization to Jews, especially in the States created after the War;
(2) Discrimination against Jews in the matter of appointments or promotion in the public services, or in the allocation of Government contracts;
(3) Discrimination against Jews in admittance to secondary schools and Universities;
(4) Excessive taxation, not openly imposed on the Jews, but imposed on those sections of the population in which they are particularly numerous, such as the shopkeeping element;
(5) Insufficient Government financial assistance for Jewish educational, religious, and welfare organizations.

The complaint regarding the refusal of naturalization is more especially directed against the Roumanian Govern-

ment. During and after the Great War some Jews who were unable to claim any definite nationality entered Roumania, especially from Russia, because they had lost their nationality under legislation passed by the Soviet Government and were unable to acquire any new nationality. Much greater numbers were deprived of their nationality during the transfer of certain territories from one State to another, being unable to fulfil the conditions made for the grant of nationality by the new State. They have all the duties but none of the rights of citizens. The Roumanian Government refused naturalization to stateless persons although in the peace treaty of 1920 it expressly undertook to grant naturalization to all persons domiciled in the country in that year. It defends its refusal on the ground that many foreign Jews entered the country without permission after 1920. In 1938 it passed a law requiring all Jews to prove when and how they acquired Roumanian citizenship. Those who cannot produce evidence are regarded as aliens and are liable to deportation. According to reports received at the beginning of December 1939, the investigations into the nationality of the Jews have resulted in more than one-third of the Jewish population being deprived of their Roumanian nationality.

There are considerable percentages of Jews of alien nationality, or of none, in other countries, owing to the mass emigrations of Jews from Eastern Europe in the last fifty years. In Switzerland, in 1930, 45·4 per cent of the Jewish population were of alien nationality or stateless. The percentage in Latvia in 1930 was 10·6, and in Budapest in the same year 4·6. In Czechoslovakia in 1921 17,678 Jews, or 5 per cent of the total, were aliens, but by 1939 most of them had been granted naturalization. Between 1929 and 1937, 12,316 Jews were admitted to Czechoslovak citizenship, while 3236 lost it.

The number of aliens among the Jewish population in

Egypt, mainly French, Italian, or British, is particularly large; it was 65·5 per cent of the total in 1937. The high percentage is explained by the fact that these Jews were of foreign nationality when they came to Egypt, and, like other Europeans living in Egypt, were unwilling to give up the privileged position they enjoyed as foreigners; or they acquired foreign nationality after immigration. The case of the Jews in Tunis is similar; membership of a foreign State gives them a privileged position. Between 1924 and 1935, 6582 Tunisian Jews acquired French nationality.

In Germany the census of June 1933 registered 98,747 alien or stateless Jews, making 19·8 per cent of the total. Of these, 57·2 per cent were of Polish nationality, 4·7 per cent Austrian, 4·4 per cent Czechoslovak, 2·3 per cent Hungarian, 2·2 per cent Roumanian, 9·2 per cent nationals of other States, and 20·0 per cent stateless. Of these 98,747 alien Jews, 39,000 were born in Germany, and thus belonged to the second or third generation of immigrants. Before the Great War it was rather difficult for foreign Jews in Germany to acquire German citizenship; after the War naturalization was made easier. In 1933 there were 16,300 Jews living in Germany who, though born abroad, had acquired German citizenship (in most cases through naturalization or through the marriage of a woman with a Jew of German citizenship); but many of them were deprived of it under a decree issued by the Nazi Government in July 1933. (See Chapter XII.) In 1938 the German laws were extended to Austria, where 31,073 Jews had been granted naturalization between 1923 and 1932. In the autumn of 1938 the Italian Government, which until then had been distinguished by its tolerance toward the Jews, followed in the footsteps of its German ally, and issued a decree under which the citizenship of all Jews naturalized since January 1, 1919, may be annulled. Italian citizenship has also been withdrawn from the Jews of

Italian nationality in Libya. Hungary, in May 1939, in its second law concerning the Jews, prohibited the naturalization of Jews, while permitting those already naturalized to retain their Hungarian citizenship.

The complaint of discrimination against the Jews in the matter of official appointments was directed until 1933 mainly against Roumania and Poland, where the Governments only in exceptional cases appointed Jews as officials, University professors, or teachers. Since then the practice of these States has been far outstripped by Germany, Italy, and Hungary, where no Jew can now become an official. This is a particularly severe blow for the Italian Jews, who have been entirely assimilated for a long time past and were numerous in the civil service, the army, and the navy.

Discrimination in regard to admittance to Universities, which before the War existed only in Russia and was ended there in 1917, is now worst in Germany, but exists also in Hungary and Poland. In Germany, since 1933, Jewish students have gradually disappeared from the Universities; legally "non-Aryans" may be admitted up to 1·5 per cent of the total number of students, but in reality Jews are not admitted at all. In Hungary there was from 1920 to 1928 a sort of *numerus clausus* (quota) for the Jews. This was nominally abolished in 1928, as a result of intervention by the League of Nations; but in practice admission to the Universities was granted in the first place to sons of parents whose professions were rarely exercised by Jews; after that there would often be no room left for the admission of Jews. Under a second Anti-Jewish Bill of May 1939 the percentage of Jews in the Hungarian high schools is to be restricted to 6 per cent of the total number of students. In Poland special permission from the University authorities is necessary for every admission to the Universities, and the authorities take advantage of this to keep down the proportion of Jews

in the Faculties of Medicine, Pharmacology, Engineering, and Mining, to 10 per cent, which is the proportion of Jews among the general population. Jews are admitted without restriction to the Faculties of Law and Philosophy. Government scholarships in Poland are scarcely ever given to Jews. In 1938 Italy excluded foreign Jews from admission to the Universities, and introduced restrictions on the admission of Italian Jews.

The complaint of excessive taxation and an economic policy disadvantageous to Jews applies mainly to Poland and Roumania. In Poland the urban population is much more highly taxed than the rural, so that the Jews, who live chiefly in towns, are particularly affected. The State assistance given to co-operative societies, and the introduction of State monopolies, greatly reduce the trade of the Jews. Both in Poland and Roumania the Jewish artisans are affected by the introduction of examinations carried on in the language of the country, of which they have not an adequate knowledge, and by a quasi-guild organization of handicrafts.

In Soviet Russia the almost complete elimination of private enterprise in trade and industry took from the Jews their principal means of livelihood, and the resulting abject misery has only been relieved in recent years by the increased admittance of Jews into the civil service (which in Russia includes almost every economic enterprise), and into the factories.

The complaint of insufficient Government financial assistance to Jewish educational, religious, and welfare organizations is particularly serious in countries in which the Jews enjoy national minority rights and support their own schools, for which, as for their religion, they can claim under the minority treaties a reasonable subsidy from the State. In Poland, though they pay higher taxes in proportion to income than the non-Jews, they receive scarcely

any assistance from the State. In 1937–38 the Ministry of Religion and Education allocated to the Jews only 183,000 zloty out of its total expenditure of 22,351,000 zloty, or 0·8 per cent.

In some countries the Jews suffer, moreover, from impediments to the observance of their religion. In Germany, in Italy since 1938, and with certain exceptions in Poland, the ritual slaughtering of cattle is forbidden, and Sunday observance is enforced even on Jews who keep their own Sabbath. In certain countries Jews who refuse to work on their Sabbath are shut out of public employment. In 1932 a law was passed in Poland permitting the opening of certain kinds of shops on Sundays for a few hours. In England laws passed in 1931 and 1936 went much farther, permitting Jews of certain districts, such as the East End of London, where the proportion of Jewish inhabitants is high, to open their shops on Sunday until 2 P.M. if they close them on Saturday. In New York a similar law was passed in 1933.

3. The struggle for national minority rights

The demand made by Governments at the time of the emancipation of the Jews that they should abandon their national customs was not strongly opposed by the Jews of Western Europe ; it was in line with their own intentions. In Western Europe assimilation was further facilitated by the fact that the countries mainly concerned, such as France, Germany, and Holland, were nationally uniform (apart from the territory that became Prussian through the Partitions of Poland), so that the continued existence of a small national minority with its own language (Yiddish) seemed an anomaly. But in Russia and Austria-Hungary, countries inhabited by many different nationalities, and with a much larger and more compact Jewish population,

the attempt to assimilate the Jews and force them to adopt the language of the country in place of their mother tongue met with strong opposition. Only the educated upper class adopted the language of the country and endeavoured to assimilate themselves to their Christian environment. This produced a rift between this class and the mass of the Jews, who held fast to Yiddish and to the Jewish tradition. The Jewish resistance to assimilation was strengthened by the fact that the other national minorities began to fight for the retention of their mother tongue. In Russia both the bourgeois Jewish People's Party, founded in 1906 by Simon Dubnov, and the " Bund ", the Socialist Jewish workers' federation, fought for the Jewish language and for Jewish cultural autonomy, especially the maintenance of Yiddish in the Jewish schools. In Austria similar demands were made by the " Yiddishists " under Nathan Birnbaum at a conference at Czernowitz in 1908. Gradually the demand for national and cultural autonomy was pressed by large sections of the Jewish people in Eastern Europe. The Zionists were sympathetic toward this movement, seeing in it a strengthening of the Jewish national consciousness and a stage on the road to Palestine. At the Helsingfors Conference in 1906, the Russian Zionists put forward the demand for national autonomy for the Jews in Russia and made it part of their programme ; the Austrian Zionists followed their example. At the Austrian general election of 1907 four Jewish members were elected on the basis of a National Jewish programme ; on their entry into Parliament they formed themselves into a " Jewish Club ".

4. The minority treaties

The Peace Treaties wrought a fundamental change in the position of national minorities. Where nations inhabit

compact territories, in most cases they have been granted national independence. But where they live scattered among other nationalities, which is the case of the Jews, the newly formed or reconstructed States were required to guarantee the cultural rights of minorities, that is to say, "of inhabitants who differ from the majority of the population in race,[1] language, or religion". Such "minority treaties" were signed by Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Greece, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Turkey, Albania, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, and Lithuania.

According to these agreements, differences in race, language, or religion are not to debar any person from public office, functions, or honours, or from the practice of professions. National minorities are to be free to found and run charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, using their own language and freely practising their own religion. The State is to give reasonable facilities to national minorities for the use of their languages in the law courts and before other public authorities. The national minority is to be given a fair share of the money which the State or the local authorities devote to education, religion, and public welfare; on the other hand, the schools of the national minorities must include the teaching of the language of the State in their curriculum.

The minority treaties are felt as a burden by almost all

[1] The word "race" is not employed here in the anthropological sense but to express the ethnic homogeneity possessed by a people through descent, tradition, and common interest. As a rule the language ordinarily spoken by a person is the mark of his membership of a national minority. Thus, in Poland only those Jews who speak Yiddish as their mother tongue (73·8 per cent of the Jews by religion in the census of 1921) are regarded as the Jewish national minority. In Czechoslovakia, in 1930, 52·3 per cent of the Jews described themselves as of Jewish nationality, the rest as Czechs, Germans, and so on. In Lithuania and Latvia the numbers of Jews by religion and of Jews by nationality almost coincide. For a comprehensive survey of the situation of the Jewish minorities in the various countries see *Die Juden Osteuropas in den Minderheitsverträgen*, by Kurt Stillschweig, Berlin, 1936.

the Governments that had to sign them. With a few honourable exceptions, such as Czechoslovakia, Finland, and Estonia, the States concerned have tried to set aside the treaties or to render them valueless. Poland, which has the largest Jewish minority, tried in 1934 to annul her minority treaty by a unilateral declaration, but was unable to obtain the consent of the League of Nations. Roumania has several times threatened to denounce her treaty when there have been demands from the League that she should carry out its obligations. Minorities have repeatedly complained to the League, which was recognized in the treaties as guardian of minority rights, that their Governments disregard the provisions of its treaty. In the case of the Jews these complaints have been of very little avail, since under the Covenant the League can only deal with them when a State with a permanent seat on the League Council itself takes them up, and it was frequently impossible to obtain such support.

The Jews of Turkey and Hungary, by declarations from their leading organizations, have renounced the rights of national minorities accorded to them by the minority treaties. In Hungary the declaration meant in fact that the great majority of Jews wished to be regarded as Magyars and not as Jews by nationality. In Turkey the renunciation was probably made under strong pressure from the Government.

As a national minority the Jews are in a worse situation than the other minorities. The Jewish minority in a country is not concentrated in one district, but scattered all over the country; it is urban and forms islets in alien surroundings; it does not form a complete economic unit with agriculture for its natural basis, but consists mostly of traders and artisans dependent on non-Jewish customers; and it lacks the support of fellow countrymen dominant in another country, whereas, for instance, the Germans

in Czechoslovakia and Poland had the help and encouragement of the great German neighbour State. The only result with which the treaties can be credited has been in saving the Jews from being compelled to abandon their own tongue and in retarding the tempo of their assimilation.

The Jewish minorities of the European countries have created a central organization in Paris for the protection of their interests — the Committee of Jewish Delegations, known since 1927 as the Council for the Rights of Jewish Minorities. In April 1929 it addressed a comprehensive memorandum to the Council of the League of Nations setting forth the inadequacies in the protection of Jewish interests in various States. Until 1933 the Council for the Rights of Jewish Minorities took part in the annual meeting of the Congress of National Minorities, but it left the Congress because the discussion of the question of the Jews in Germany was banned.

In some countries the minorities have parliamentary representation. In Poland, the country with the largest Jewish minority, this representation has been severely restricted in recent years. Out of 100 electoral districts there are only four in which the Jews form a majority and can elect a few members, though their proportion among the population, if we include all the Jews by religion, is 9·8 per cent, and if we include only those who speak Yiddish, about 7 per cent. At the elections of November 1938 five Jewish members were elected to the Seym ; two in Warsaw, and one each in Lodz, Lvov, and Cracow. This makes 2·5 per cent of the 202 members of the Seym. There was one Jewish Senator.

The minority legislation has not fulfilled Jewish hopes ; it has steadily crumbled away, and there is a danger that its efficacy may go on diminishing. Thus no hope of the preservation of Jewry as an ethnic unit can be rested on the minority treaties. Everything depends on the extent

to which the Jews themselves have the will and the strength to maintain their unity in spite of all economic and political difficulties resulting from their minority position.

5. The problem of nationalities in Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia, which took no part in the Treaty of Versailles and signed no minority treaty, has introduced a far-reaching system of national autonomy. The various nationalities, of which the Jews are one, were granted freedom in respect of language and education, and, further, the great administrative units of the country were made to coincide as far as possible with national areas, each territorial unit being granted a measure of administrative and political autonomy. This arrangement hardly affects the Jews, because they nowhere form a majority in any large territory. But in 1926 the principle was put into effect in the district of Kalinindorf, in the Southern Ukraine, where, in a total of 25,000 inhabitants, the Jews formed 75 per cent; Yiddish was recognized as the official language of the district, and the Jews form a majority in the local administration. Since then other small Jewish districts have been formed in the Ukraine and the Crimea, and finally the Jewish district of Birobidjan (Siberia), where the Government started Jewish agricultural colonization in 1927, was made an administrative unit in 1935.

Soviet statistics distinguish 191 ethnic groups (nationalities) and 153 different languages in the Union. Apart from the "European" Jews, there are four other recognized Jewish ethnic groups: the Jewish Highlanders and the Georgian Jews in the Caucasus, the Krimchaks of the Crimea, and the "Asiatic Jews" in Bokhara. Among the 153 languages Yiddish is listed as "Yevreisky", while the other languages spoken by the Jews, such as Hebrew and Jewish-Persian, are omitted.

CHAPTER XI

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE PAST

1. Its sources

Why is it that in the two thousand years of their dispersion the Jews have so frequently met with opposition and hatred? The enmity of nations against the Jews living in their midst, to which the word anti-Semitism was inaccurately applied in the second half of the nineteenth century, existed in ancient times, and after an ebb in the nineteenth century it has flamed up again in the twentieth.

Those who try to explain anti-Semitism on purely rational grounds, such as unwelcome economic competition or difference in religion, do not penetrate to its true source. This is the group instinct, which, like the herd instinct of animals, produces suspicion of the "stranger" outside the group and a defensive or aggressive attitude toward him.

Men have always lived in groups. As individuals they were unable to exist in face of the inimical environment. Only under the protection of the group, which came to the defence of each member, did the individual feel safe. The group instinct, or group solidarity, acquired in the course of countless ages, has been preserved in every form of human life in society — family, tribe, people, nation, State. Family and tribe originated in common ancestry and common pursuit of the means of existence; in peoples and nations the bond of union was the common culture, language, and destiny; the State was concerned with the

defence of the territory occupied by the group, and with its extension (by the subjugation of other peoples).

The longer a human group is propagated by marriage within its own membership, the more similar its individuals become in their physical characteristics, their language (and pronunciation), and their habits. Any person who is not born within the group but enters its territory as a migrant, or as a member of a subjugated group, is regarded as an alien. He may be admitted to membership, but the consent of the group to this will usually be given only when he has become so assimilated that he has next to no trace left of alien characteristics, and even then only if the group have no fear that his admission may injure their interests.

The Jews came to Europe as strangers, and remained strangers by reason of differences in descent, religion, culture, and occupations. They were bound by their religion to a particular way of life, differing radically from that of their neighbours. Even apart from the bond of religion, they had no reason to wish to abandon their way of life for that of their European environment: they were representatives of an advanced Eastern civilization in the midst of the more primitive Western culture. The hatred of the Jews could therefore develop as part of the general xenophobia which has permeated history, ancient and medieval, and has continued down to our own day. In the case of other aliens this hatred disappeared as the strangers gradually assimilated themselves to their environment and were absorbed in it by *connubium*. If the Jews had pursued the path of *connubium* from the beginning of their dispersion, there would have been no hatred of the Jews today, but there would also have been no Jews. Their religion, by forbidding *connubium* with other peoples, preserved their ethnic uniformity; their difference from their neighbours did not diminish as time passed, but tended to increase. In the Roman Empire peoples of the most diverse races and

cultures lived together fairly peacefully; as the Empire disintegrated under the impact of the barbarian invasions, and the peoples of Europe formed themselves into States, developing their own ethnic traits, the Jews became everywhere aliens in their midst and the object of xenophobia. It may be that a contributing feature was their difference from the more recently civilized peoples among whom they lived, in being, on account of their older culture, more rationalized, *i.e.* mentally older. We find a counterpart in the case of the Chinese, who in the course of their age-long cultural development have become highly rationalized, and are therefore disliked by the Japanese, who are much more dominated by instinct.

The feeling of dislike, often growing into hatred and the urge to give vent to it, is at least as deeply rooted in human nature as sympathy, and perhaps more so. Hatred, united with aggressiveness and the lust for destruction, belongs to the great emotional province of the spirit, and, like many other feelings and instincts, is only partially repressed by reason. It lies like a dog on the watch, ready to pounce at any moment on a real or imagined enemy. Ethical progress is achieved in the world by the replacing of antipathy by sympathy, by men's widening recognition of the men around them as fellow-men. At first only blood-relations, near or distant, are brought within the circle of human sympathy. Later the circle is extended to the members of a whole nation or State, with whom the individual is bound up by the ties of a common language and mutual protection. The civilization of today has generally reached this stage. Efforts to draw all mankind within the circle of sympathy were made by the Jewish prophets, by Christianity, and by Buddhism. But up to now they have failed, because hatred demands an outlet, and because recognition of all other nations as equals equally entitled to sympathy would weaken the internal

solidarity of nations. The Nazi struggle against the Roman Catholics arises from the fact that Catholicism preaches the equality of all men before God, and thus takes up a supernational or international position.

If the feeling of hatred were less firmly rooted in men, it would be incomprehensible that in times of war or anarchy, or as a result of demagogic excitement, the masses of the people should be so ready to commit the worst atrocities. The alien Jew was the nearest and, in consequence of his defencelessness and numerical inferiority, the least dangerous object for outbreaks of hatred. Sanguinary persecutions of the Jews continued throughout the Middle Ages. The human tendency to blame someone for every untoward event found the needed scapegoat in the Jews, unless there were still more unfamiliar and hated races, such as the Armenians in the Turkey of Abdul Hamid, who could take their place. An example of the readiness to make scapegoats of the Jews is the fact that they were blamed for the outbreak of plague in Europe in 1349, and terrible persecutions followed; they were supposed to have poisoned the wells. It has been scientifically established in recent times that plague is not conveyed by drinking-water. Another outlet for feelings of hatred was provided in medieval Germany by witch-hunting. Old or ugly or misshapen women who aroused the dislike of their neighbours were accused of procuring the illness and death of other persons through the "evil eye" or by witchcraft; they were tried in public by judges, who believed themselves to be administering careful justice, and were condemned to frightful forms of death. Their execution was witnessed by crowds who experienced the same satisfaction or even ecstasy as other crowds in highly cultivated Spain who watched the slow burning at the stake of "heretics" by the Inquisition. Another example of the innate inclination to cruelty, which can drown trouble in the

pleasure of watching the sufferings of others, was provided by ancient Rome, where in times of unrest the plebs demanded not only food but the bloody spectacle of gladiatorial combats.

While hatred of the foreigner may be regarded as the prime source of anti-Semitism, the moment for its outbreak and the degree of its violence depend on circumstances. In the days when the Christian religion dominated all life in Europe and filled men with religious fanaticism, the charge against the Jews of having crucified Christ was a permanent incitement to outbreaks. To this day, many Christians remain consciously or unconsciously under the influence of the narratives in the New Testament of the crucifixion of Christ and the hostility of the Jews to His teachings. The number of Christians who recognize the part played by the Jewish religion as the ethical forerunner of Christianity is probably much smaller.

Economic competition also contributes to the growth of anti-Semitism. In the first thousand years of the Christian era, the Christians scarcely competed with the Jews in trade and handicrafts. Not until after the Crusades did European merchants enter into trade with the Orient and begin to regard the Jews, who until then had had almost a monopoly of this trade, as troublesome competitors. This gave rise to persecutions and expulsions of Jews, and to their exclusion from trade with the Orient and from all important branches of commerce. In countries and at times in which economic life is at a low ebb, the competition of the Jews is, of course, felt more than at times of economic prosperity, when there is room enough for all. This competition need not be general; it is sufficient for Jewish competition to be felt in a few occupations for hatred of the Jews to be unloosed. The crowding of Jews into the professions, which began some fifty years ago, has brought economic disadvantage only to a small

section of the Christian population, but the exasperation produced in this section was sufficient for the launching of tremendous propaganda against the Jews which aroused much wider circles of the population. The importance of the economic factor was increased by the high qualification of the Jews in the occupations they carried on in Europe, commercial and professional, which gave them in many cases a natural advantage over their Christian rivals. If the Jews had been without ability, they would have been left alone. But as they were both gifted and extremely hard-working, xenophobia was reinforced by envy. In commerce this is happening in our day principally in the countries in which the Christians are only beginning to stream into commercial life, such as Poland; here they have difficulty in holding their own against the commercial experience and ability of the Jews. In countries with a long-established Christian trading class, such as Holland, England, and the United States, the competition of the Jews is less dangerous and has less influence in promoting anti-Semitism.

In the nineteenth century hatred of the Jews was stimulated by the fact that after their emancipation many of them rapidly acquired wealth and entered the higher strata of society, where they were regarded as upstarts. In Germany, where the caste system was still strong in certain sections, the officer and official caste, with its long-standing tradition and its recruitment largely from the old families, could not bring itself to share its privileges and distinctions with Jews whose fathers or grandfathers were poor and despised. Here anti-Semitism found an ally in caste and class pride.

An important factor is the embitterment of many Jews, who are kept down either by law or by social anti-Semitism, and who have joined opposition parties, Liberal or Socialist, from which they may expect an improvement of their

situation. This has given them the reputation of revolutionaries and has counted against them with the ruling parties and classes. Among the Christians the natural soil for political discontent is the proletariat, but among the Jews discontent extends into the higher classes — for instance, among the professional men. This explains why there are so many Jewish leaders of the proletariat. The urban proletariat needed men of higher education as its leaders, and found them most easily among Jews who in spite of their intellectual abilities found their path to success blocked. Where they do not suffer from such exclusion, *e.g.* in countries such as England, the United States, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries, they tend to join the various political parties more or less like the non-Jews.

In many countries Jews are blamed for their internationalism. It is true that their distribution throughout the world and their migrations and travels have given them a wider knowledge of the countries of the world and have made them less chauvinistic than the non-Jews. The Jews are often better qualified, in conflicts of interest between countries, to form an impartial judgment of the motives and actions of their own country's opponent; this may explain why they are among the most enthusiastic supporters of the League of Nations. The Jews are therefore also charged with pacifism, today a word of reproach in many European States. Whether or not other nations can gain anything by war, the Jews are losers in all wars, since they are inhabitants of all the belligerent countries. But if pacifism is in disrepute today, the time may come when to have been charged with it will be an honour.

The growth of anti-Semitism in Germany has been stimulated by Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe. The immigrants were in most cases on a lower level of education and refinement. But they were extremely

capable workers and could speak German, which was easily learned by the Jews in Eastern Europe, especially in Galicia, and was even spoken by many of the older generation alongside with Yiddish. These immigrants advanced remarkably quickly, but did not always adhere to the moral conceptions of their new country. They had the faults of a transitional social group which had abandoned its own traditions and had not yet acquired new ones. At the end of the Great War they formed about a fifth of the Jews in Germany, and being concentrated in the principal cities, were much in evidence. Cases of moral shortcomings among them were eagerly seized on by the anti-Semites and represented as typical of the morality of Jews in general.

In the countries outside Germany there was also Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, but in this case the immigrants were hindered in their progress by ignorance of the language of their new country. This often affected even the second generation of these immigrants. Only those Jews who were born in the country of immigration, were familiar with its customs, and were able to speak its language without a foreign accent, were able to rise in the social scale.

The fact that a few East European immigrants in Germany made use of unjustifiable business methods and became involved in sensational prosecutions was used to support the allegation that the Jews in general have a low moral standard. In reality the criminal record of Jews is not worse, but rather better, than that of non-Jews. The percentage of Jews among all condemned persons compared with their percentage of the total population is given in the table on the opposite page.

These figures show that there is only one country — Nazi Germany — in which the percentage of Jews among condemned persons substantially exceeds their percentage of the total population; but then there are special laws

Country	Percentage of Jews among Condemned Persons	Percentage of Jews in the General Population
Poland (1935)	9·1	9·8
Latvia (1934)	4·1	4·9
Roumania (1926–35)	3·2	4·8
Yugoslavia (1933)	0·4	0·5
Bulgaria (1933)	0·5	0·8
Hungary (1935)	5·4	5·1
Germany (1936)	1·0	0·6
Tunis (1935)	1·3*	2·3*
Palestine (1937)	27·9†	28·6†

* Native Jews only, not European Jews.
† Excluding offences against the traffic regulations.

and justice for the Jews. Before 1933 the percentage of condemned persons was smaller among Jews than among Christians. In Prussia in 1910 the number of Jews found guilty of offences was only 1128 per 100,000 Jewish persons liable to prosecution (over 12 years of age); the proportion for Christians was 1215 per 100,000. In this exceptional case the number of persons *liable to prosecution* was ascertained separately for Jews and Christians. In the remaining cases above we had to compare the numbers of persons condemned with the *total* numbers of Jews and Christians.[1] Since in all the countries quoted the Jews have fewer children and young persons than the Christians, the true measure of their criminality is smaller than appears from the figures here given.

The greater or lesser percentage of Jews in particular offences is explained without difficulty by the difference in the occupational composition of Christians and Jews and the difference in their degrees of urbanization. Some offences, such as the sale of habit-forming drugs, are almost exclusively city offences, and are not found in rural communities. Certain other offences, such as fraudulent or negligent bankruptcy, are scarcely possible except in trade,

[1] Details of criminality among Jews are given in my book *Soziologie der Juden* (Berlin, 1930), vol. i. p. 500.

and are therefore, in view of the occupational composition of the Jews, more frequent among them than among Christians. On the other hand, offences of violence of all sorts (and especially those committed under the influence of alcohol), from simple bodily injury to murder, are more frequent in the villages and among the uneducated classes, and consequently seldom occur among Jews. The feature of Jewish occupational activity is paralleled in Jewish criminality: "intellectual" offences are more frequent and "manual" offences less frequent among Jews than among Christians.

It is a peculiarity of the hatred of the alien and its special case, anti-Semitism, that it sees the members of the alien group exclusively in a bad light and is ready to attribute to them every conceivable unattractive quality. Just as like or dislike of a person determine whether his good or bad qualities are noticed, so like and dislike determine whether a people shall be visualized as the incorporation of its best or worst elements. When an anti-Semite speaks of "the Jew", he thinks of the ugliest and wiliest Jew he has ever met, and if he is forced to admit the existence of "respectable" Jews he will regard them as exceptions, which he will not allow to affect his cherished generalizations.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the era of Liberalism, the Jews of Western and Central Europe had grown up in the conviction that Liberalism, democracy, and the equality of all citizens before the law were final achievements of civilization: every generation tends to regard the cultural stage it has attained as the crowning achievement of human progress. This was all the more so in the second half of the nineteenth century since the immense technical advance in production and in communications had extraordinarily improved the general standard of living, and the time was really one of great

economic advance. To the Jews the revival of anti-Semitism, which had been supposed to be dead, was a nightmare. Most of them lived in big cities, which were the strongholds of Liberalism or Socialism, and they underestimated the amount of hostility to the Jews that slumbered in the small towns and villages. There, even in the countries of Emancipation, the Jew had usually remained an alien, tolerated but not admitted to intimacy. Even in the large towns, while the Jews seemed finally to have achieved equality, a good deal of opposition to them had continued to exist beneath the surface. Otherwise anti-Semitism could not have flared up so quickly as it did, for instance, in France, at the time of the Dreyfus case.

The actual birthplace of the anti-Semitic movement was Germany, where it started in the period following the Franco-German War of 1870–71, at the height of the Liberal epoch. In the new German Empire, with its enormously expanded economic system, the Jews were in the forefront of finance, industry, and trade. In the so-called *Gründerjahre*, the years of speculative financing of industry immediately following the war of 1870–71, the Jews played a prominent part in company promotion, and when the speculative boom collapsed in 1875 they were regarded by shareholders as responsible for the losses suffered. When large-scale industrial and commercial firms carried on by Jews adversely affected the trade of smaller firms in Christian hands, the owners put the blame not on technical superiority but simply on the Jews. The privileged classes of officers and Government officials were disconcerted by the rise of the Jews and their penetration into posts hitherto reserved to the privileged classes. The animosity of the Conservative Prussian Government was aroused by the leading part played by Jews in the Liberal and Socialist parties. In the 'eighties a small Anti-Semitic

Party was founded under Stöcker, a court chaplain, and his anti-Jewish programme was taken over in the 'nineties by the Conservative Party. None the less, the legal position of the Jews in Germany remained unchanged till 1933, and in the cities their social position seemed to be improving. They were to be found in increasing number even in official posts. During the War many of them were given commissioned rank, thus entering the class which was regarded in Germany as the most aristocratic of all. The anti-Semites protested against this in the press and in Parliament, both under the Monarchy and the Republic, but without avail.

In France, anti-Semitism died down after the Dreyfus affair, and has remained to this day confined to a few small sections of the population. A Jew was able to rise to the highest positions, even to the Premiership. The case was much the same in England, Holland, and Belgium. Also the Scandinavian countries, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and, until 1938, Italy, were very little affected by anti-Semitism. In Russia the Tsarist Government had promoted anti-Semitism; the Soviet Government crushed it as a bourgeois movement. It seems still to be smouldering in certain circles in Russia, but the muzzling of public opinion makes it impossible to judge its real strength.

In Poland the anti-Semitism dating from Tsarist times was sometimes encouraged and sometimes repressed, according to the party in power. Marshal Pilsudski was opposed to the movement; since his death in 1935 the Polish Government had pursued a policy of "moderate" anti-Semitism. It considered that there was not room for the 3,300,000 Polish Jews in their traditional occupations, and that large-scale emigration was essential. In large sections of the Polish population anti-Semitism was strong. It was one of the main planks in the programme of the parties of the Right. Jewish competition was much disliked

by Christians who tried to gain a footing in trade; and this they did in steadily increasing numbers as a consequence of the great natural increase in the population and of the depressed state of agriculture. The opposition to the strong participation of Jews in the professions found expression in the demand of the parties of the Right for the institution of a *numerus clausus* against them, and also in the hostility of Christian students which in some universities resulted in the introduction of "ghetto benches" for the Jews. The principal Government party, the "Camp of National Unity", had an anti-Semitic programme, and demanded from the Government energetic measures for the exclusion of Jews from all public and cultural activities.

In Roumania the conditions are much the same. Here, too, as in the formerly Russian provinces of Poland, the legal equality of Jews with non-Jews is of recent date, and the discrimination of pre-emancipation times has been maintained against the Jews among large sections of the population. Here, too, the penetration of the Jews into the professions and their strong representation in industry have increased hostility to them. In recent years anti-Semitism has received fresh impulses in Poland, Roumania, and Hungary from the example of Nazi Germany.

In the United States anti-Semitism was virtually unknown up to the end of the nineteenth century. The Sephardic immigrants and the Jewish immigrants from Germany had all adapted themselves to American life and were regarded as Americans equally with all other immigrants. Their rise to the upper classes had taken place during a period of general prosperity; they formed only a small proportion of the population, and thus no hostility was engendered by their progress. Only with the mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe did an anti-

Semitic movement arise in America. The new immigrants were ten times as numerous as their predecessors; they came with a lower standard of existence and were at first ready to accept lower wages, thus making the Christians fear for their own standards and wages; and they held much more firmly to their Jewish tradition than the Sephardic and German immigrants had done.

The result was that, although as a rule they were naturalized on application after the waiting period of five years, and were accorded full rights of citizenship by the American Government, they were not accepted into American Christian society. For the mass of the Jewish workers there was nothing tragic about this: like the mass of the Italian immigrants, they had no desire for assimilation. Those, however, who belonged to the third generation of immigrants and had made their way into the professions, or into wholesale trade or banking, were seriously injured by their ostracism by the upper-class Christians. After the Great War there were occasional demonstrations on the part of the so-called " hundred per cent Americans ", organized in the Ku Klux Klan; these were directed nominally against all aliens, but in practice only against the Jews. These demonstrations would be followed by a period of quiet, but an anti-Jewish attitude is unquestionably widespread among the upper classes of Christian society in America. A result of this is that in some spas and hotels Jews are unwelcome, and in some public utilities they are seldom given employment. The dislike of Jews finds expression in academic circles in their non-admittance to the exclusive student associations known as " Greek-letter fraternities ", and in the increasing difficulty with which they secure posts as assistants in the general hospitals, so as to gain the necessary training for the medical profession. Many obstacles are also put in the way of their admission as members of the legal or

Bar associations, as teachers in the public schools, or as professors at the Universities.[1]

The immigration of East European Jews on a large scale into other oversea countries, such as Canada (particularly Quebec province), South Africa, Brazil, and the Argentine, has produced similar results, especially since the second generation of Jewish immigrants have turned increasingly to the professions, offering competition to the Christians through their ability and industry. Moreover, in Brazil the immigrants turn to peddling and to hire-purchase business, at least in their first years in the country, and the authorities consider an expansion of these types of trade undesirable in the general interest. In recent years the spread of anti-Semitism in these countries has also been promoted by the active and widespread Nazi propaganda, organized from Germany. (See Chapter XII.) Other anti-Semitic disorders and riots, such as those in Algeria and Morocco after the War, have also probably been the result partly of incitement from abroad, though here religious fanaticism among the Mohammedans also plays a part.

2. Jewish defence

The societies mentioned in the preceding chapter, working for the civil rights of the Jews, have been occupied in recent decades in combating the spread of anti-Semitism ; they have had the assistance of some other societies, with Jewish and non-Jewish members, founded for the special purpose of defence against anti-Semitism. Many Christians of world-wide reputation, including monarchs, leading statesmen, and eminent scholars, have associated themselves with these efforts. The Jews in Eastern Europe armed themselves, both before and after the War, in self-

[1] Maurice F. Karpf, *Jewish Community Organisation in the United States* (New York, 1938), p. 20.

defence against pogroms. In Germany and the United States, when the admission of Jews to Christian sports associations, lodges, and students' societies began to be opposed, the Jews formed their own sports and social groups and students' unions. But these activities did nothing to drive out anti-Semitism. In a few cases the Jewish defence associations succeeded in bringing to justice persons who had slandered Jews or incited to violence against them, but as a rule they were impotent in face of the spread of anti-Jewish slogans. Only in entirely exceptional cases were they able by stating the true facts and exposing baseless charges to silence some of the anti-Semites. In general these persons, especially since the immense and world-wide German propaganda campaign of recent years, have become so fanatical in their hostility to Jews that they have neither the will nor the power to grasp the truth.

The most striking example of this is provided by the so-called " Protocols of the Elders of Zion ". These Protocols are used to this day by many apostles of anti-Semitism as evidence that the Jews are striving after world power. Their origin is attributed to a secret congress of Jews supposed to have taken place in 1897, after the first Zionist Congress at Basle. It has since been definitely proved that they are a plagiarism, based on a pamphlet, *Dialogues aux enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu ; ou la Politique du Machiavel au XIXième siècle*, written against Napoleon III by M. Joly, and published at Brussels in 1864. Another book, a novel entitled *Gaeta, Warschau, und Dueppel*, written by a German, Hermann Goedsche, and published in Russian in 1868 under the pseudonym John Retcliffe, was blended in the " Protocols " with Joly's book, and the machiavellianism attributed by Joly to Napoleon was transferred to the Jews. The purpose of the plagiarism was to influence Nicholas II of Russia, and to win him over to a harsher anti-Jewish

policy. These facts have been repeatedly proved, most recently in a judgment of the Supreme Court at Berne on November 1, 1937; the "Protocols" nevertheless form to this day one of the principal weapons in the armoury of anti-Semitism.

The formation by the Jews of sports, social, and student associations of their own has protected them to some extent from insults and humiliations. But Christians and Jews come into contact also in public and business life, and there is ample opportunity for anti-Semites to display their hostility and to exasperate and humiliate Jews. Worst of all, anti-Semitism makes the Jew unsure of his position in the world around him. He never knows whether in his relations with Christians, however outwardly correct their behaviour may be, he is not meeting anti-Jews. This places difficulties in the way of frank dealing, and hampers intercourse on both sides. Anti-Semitism is especially dangerous in the intercourse between Christian and Jewish children. In the schools the Christian children are usually in a majority, and when their attitude is hostile to the Jews they produce in the Jewish children a sense of injury and humiliation which makes true comradeship impossible, and which often burdens them with an inferiority complex for life.

The hatred of the Jews which has produced bloody conflicts in Palestine since the Great War differs from European anti-Semitism in two respects: the Jews are able to defend themselves from attack, and no psychical sufferings or humiliations can be inflicted on them by the Arabs: for they have no desire for assimilation with the Arabs and are out to develop their own culture. In April 1936 Arab extremists started disorders and acts of terrorism in protest against Jewish immigration and the growing strength of the Jews in Palestine. Up to August 1939 these attacks had cost the lives of about 500 Jews. But

the Jews have energetically defended themselves; and they have maintained their position. The Jewish agricultural settlements have organized strong guards which have made attacks on the settlements largely impossible, and have beaten off those that have been made. In spite of many attempts, the Arabs have not succeeded in a single instance in penetrating into a settlement. The Jews have placed their services at the disposal of the British Government in its efforts to suppress the disorders, and many of them have entered the police or served as supernumerary constables.

CHAPTER XII

NAZI ANTI-SEMITISM

1. Germany under National Socialist rule

With the seizure of power by the National Socialists in Germany in January 1933, anti-Semitism entered a new stage. For the first time since the French Revolution, a Government, by a stroke of the pen, abrogated the civic rights granted to the Jews and degraded them by social and economic restrictions to pariahs of society. During the Great War, in which 12,000 German Jews fell at the front and many earned distinctions and promotion by bravery in the field, the anti-Semitic movement seemed to be dying out in Germany. But in post-War Germany it found fruitful soil once more. The German nation had moved from victory to victory since the middle of the nineteenth century, and had made unexampled political and economic progress; but it suffered immense disappointment and embitterment at the end of the War, which deprived Germany of her dominant position in Europe. Then came currency inflation, robbing millions of the whole of their savings, and unemployment on a vast scale. The inability of tens of thousands of former officers and civil servants to find employment in the new Republic with its small army; the fury of the supporters of the old monarchy against the republican system; the many mistakes of the republican Government in home and foreign policy, all produced such bitterness and discontent among the population

as had not been known for generations. Since it was impossible to seek a way out of these troubles in a new war, a scapegoat was sought within the country, and found in the Socialists, Communists, and Jews. All these were accused of having spread discontent in Germany in the last stage of the War, of having given the army in the field a " stab in the back ", and of having thus provoked the " disgraceful peace " of Versailles. It is nevertheless possible that the hatred of the Jews would not have grown so rapidly or become so violent if Adolf Hitler, who imbibed in his youth a fanatical hatred of the Jews and proclaimed it everywhere, had not worked upon it. But Hitler would have had no success if circumstances had not prepared material for his propaganda to work on.

It was of no avail for the Jews to prove, over and over again, that they had no responsibility for Germany's defeat and misery. A nation in distress is little inclined to listen to reason ; it will follow those who best understand how to turn its despair into hatred of an imagined culprit and to promise it salvation. The Nazis showed themselves masters of this art, and in their use of press and wireless they created an entirely new and extraordinarily effective style of propaganda. Between 1923 and 1933 they had collected a large body of followers, especially from the younger generation. When they came into power in 1933 they wreaked vengeance especially on those parties which had signed, and professed a readiness to implement, the Treaty of Versailles, or were suspected of pacifist ideas, and above all on the Jews. Books by Jewish authors who had aroused their ill-will were publicly burnt. There were many cases of murder or cruel maltreatment of Jews. With the assent of the Government, the Nazi Party arranged on April 1, 1933, a one-day boycott of all Jewish shops. All Jewish officials were dismissed, and Jews were excluded from all scientific associations, sports societies, and so on ; most of the

Jewish professional men were prevented from continuing to practise. The attitude of the Government toward the Jews grew more and more hostile ; but reports in the foreign press of the treatment of the Jews were described as " atrocity stories " spread by Jews, which damaged the reputation of the Reich abroad.

In the period from 1933 to 1938 a flood of laws poured down on the Jews, gradually excluding them not only from official posts and from the professions, but from all participation in trade, industry, and handicrafts. They were even subjected to restrictions in visiting theatres and cinemas, and intercourse between Jews and non-Jews was penalized.

The law of April 7, 1933, prohibited the holding of public offices by Jews ; they were not to be notaries, teachers, judges, University professors, or State or municipal officials. Exceptions were allowed where an official had taken up his post before August 1, 1914, or had fought at the front in the Great War, or had lost his father or a son in the War. There were similar provisions for lawyers. Shortly after this the Jewish physicians and dentists (with the same exceptions) were excluded from panel practice. A *numerus clausus* of 1½ per cent was instituted for the admission of Jews into secondary schools and Universities ; children of ex-combatants were exempted from its application. This special treatment of Jewish ex-combatants is probably to be attributed to the fact that Marshal Hindenburg was still President of the Reich and took them under his protection.

In July 1933 the trade unions and employers' associations were replaced by the Labour Front, from which Jews are excluded. This debarred Jews from any further access to industry. They were also excluded from the film industry and from journalism. The founding in November 1933 of the Reichskulturkammer, which does not admit Jews to

membership,[1] made it impossible for Jews to come before the non-Jewish public in art, music, or the theatre. Jewish booksellers were only permitted to sell to Jewish buyers.

The year 1934 brought the denaturalization law, which empowered the Government to cancel all naturalizations granted between November 9, 1918, and January 30, 1933. Under this law, up to the end of 1938, more than 3000 Jews, mostly with their families, were deprived of their German citizenship, and in many cases their property was confiscated for the benefit of the Treasury. Another law of 1934 excluded the Jews from military service.

In 1935 there was a further turn of the screw. Licences were withdrawn from Jewish pharmacists. The publication of printed matter was permitted only to persons who could prove their " Aryan " origin, and that of their wives or husbands, back to 1800. Then, after a period of intensive anti-Jewish propaganda, there came the " Nuremberg laws ", announced at the Nuremberg Congress of the National Socialist Party in September 1935. These laws recognized the Jews no longer as " citizens " of the Reich but only as subjects of the State, thus depriving them of all political rights, such as the right of voting in Reichstag elections (which they had exercised in 1934). The Nuremberg laws also prohibited marriages between "Aryans" and "non-Aryans", made extra-marital relations between them subject to heavy penalties, and prohibited the employment by Jews of female Christian servants of less than forty-five years of age. All former exceptions in favour of Jewish ex-combatants were withdrawn. Shortly after this came a particularly cruel measure: the privileges enjoyed by persons blinded in the War (free use of telephone and wireless) were withdrawn from the Jewish sufferers.

[1] The refusal of admittance is based in official documents on the ground " that the applicant, *being a Jew*, does not possess the required fitness and reliability for producing German cultural assets (*Kulturgut*) ".

It seemed as if the Nuremberg laws had brought the anti-Jewish legislation to an end, leaving the Jews at least one field of activity, in commerce. But this was a mistaken assumption. At the end of 1935 there began a vigorous propaganda campaign to compel Jewish shopkeepers to sell their shops to " Aryans ", contenting themselves, under pressure from the police and from the banks, with prices that were a mockery. Jews who did not sell their shops must put up placards making manifest their Jewish character. Jews were excluded from occupations such as those of auctioneer or estate agent, and from attendance at the stock exchanges. They were no longer to be permitted to work as commercial travellers or agents of " Aryan " firms. In the autumn of 1938 the licences were withdrawn from all Jewish lawyers and medical men, including ex-combatants, and less than 10 per cent of them (490 physicians and 220 lawyers) were permitted to continue in practice in Germany and in Vienna as " Jewish healers " or " consultants ", exclusively for Jewish clients. Then came the worst blow of all. A seventeen-year-old Polish Jew, named Grünspan, exasperated by the brutal ill-treatment of his parents in Germany, had mortally wounded a secretary of the German Embassy in Paris. In revenge for this, in November 1938, systematic pogroms were organized, with the toleration of the authorities, in every city in Germany. Hundreds of synagogues were burnt, Jews were maltreated and killed, tens of thousands of Jews were thrown into prisons and concentration camps — in the concentration camp of Buchenwald alone 146 Jews were beaten to death; Jewish shops were demolished, furniture in Jewish dwellings destroyed, and a collective fine of 1000 million marks (£80 millions)—officially estimated at 20 per cent of their property, but in reality much more — was imposed on Jewry. At the same time Jews were prohibited from working as independent artisans

or carrying on retail trade, and so robbed of their last economic foothold. Even this was not enough: "The cowardly murder committed by the Jew Grünspan," wrote the head of the German police in a further decree, "an act directed against the whole German nation, shows that Jews are unreliable and unfitted to keep and drive motor vehicles"; he also prohibited Jewish attendance at public theatrical performances, cinemas, and concerts. Certain streets, parks, and public buildings in Berlin were closed to Jews. Jews were also forbidden to buy or sell land, jewellery, works of art, and ornaments.

In addition to these "legal" measures, the anti-Jewish propaganda has inevitably produced hostility to Jews in the public officials and at the courts of justice, the result of which is that the lives and property of Jews are at the mercy of anyone, quite apart from the provisions of Nazi law. Jews no longer have any assurance of justice; they have become pariahs, easy victims for any informer or blackmailer. The lot of the Jewish children in the schools is especially tragic. They suffer not only from the general attitude of hostility of teachers and schoolfellows, but from the opportunity seized in many lessons of enlarging on the inferiority of the Jews and their harmfulness to Germany. Since the end of 1938 Jewish children have been prohibited from attending the ordinary schools. Where they cannot be admitted to Jewish schools they remain without any regular schooling.

The one and only recourse still available to the Jews is emigration.[1] Between 1933 and 1937 some 130,000 Jews left Germany. A further 70,000 left Germany and Austria in 1938. But since 1937, and especially since 1938, emigration has been made much more difficult: the German

[1] In my report to the eighteenth Zionist congress, held at Zurich in 1933, on the situation of the Jews in Germany, I had already described emigration as the only means of salvation for the Jews, and brought forward a plan for organized emigration.

Government not only exacts from emigrants 25 per cent of their property as *Reichsfluchtsteuer*, or " tax on flight from the Reich ", but will not permit them to exchange the remaining 75 per cent into foreign currencies and take it with them. They are only permitted to sell their property for " blocked marks ", the price of which fell between 1933 and 1939 from 80 to 6 per cent of their face value. A Jew who possesses a fortune worth 100,000 marks may be a prosperous man in Germany; on emigrating, after the deduction of the *Reichsfluchtsteuer*, his fortune dwindles to less than £400, and since the imposition of the collective fine in November 1938 to about £300, a sum with which it is rarely possible to build up a new existence abroad.

Still worse is the situation of those who have no property and who have earned their living in the past as clerical workers or agents or as professional men. The entire loss of their livelihood has reduced them to a pitiful condition; their mental suffering is intense, and they are driven to dependence on charity or on public assistance. (According to a reliable report, only 3000 to 4000 Jews had any earned income in March 1939, and this income came purely from Jewish sources, as employees of the Jewish communities or schools.) The Jewish communities and charitable organizations are less and less able to assist these destitute persons.

At the outset of the Nazi régime the German Jews did not realize the full scope of their disaster. It seemed to them impossible that the Government should persist in its anti-Jewish policy, inconceivable that it should carry it still farther. But six years of the Nazi régime have shown them that the Government goes its way in complete indifference to the lot of the individual, and intends to drive the Jews entirely out of German cultural and economic life. It intends to compel the Jews to emigrate, or, where that is impossible, to make them a subordinate class of

human beings, a sort of " untouchables ", and to hold off the Germans from all intercourse with them. The Jews are once more to be confined to a visible or an invisible ghetto, and gradually to be destroyed.

Everywhere restaurants, cafés, and shops have placards " Jews not wanted " or " No admittance for Jews ". In 1939 the Jews were forbidden access to sleeping and restaurant cars on the trains; in some towns they were unable to buy food and had to send elsewhere for it. Jews are required to leave the flats they have rented if Christian tenants in the same block demand it; in some cities, for instance Magdeburg, many Jews have been compelled to concentrate in certain streets or even in certain buildings.

The disaster in Germany has scarcely a parallel in the whole history of the Jews in its extent and its suddenness. The number of Jews who have emigrated from Germany since 1933 is not less than the number of those who had to leave Spain in 1492. But those victims were at least permitted to take their property with them, and many were able to remain in Spain at the price of baptism. In Germany, on the contrary, not only the Jews by religion have suffered, but those whose parents were baptized Jews and those who had two Jewish grandparents (" first degree mixtures "). Many restrictions imposed on Jews apply even to persons with a single Jewish grandparent (" second degree mixtures "). In some cases these " non-Aryans " are in a still worse position than Jews, since they have lost touch with Jewry and so cannot turn for help to the Jewish institutions. Since the end of 1938 a measure of assistance has reached them through the creation of the Baldwin Fund.

There seems to be no possible prospect of the Jews ever regaining in Germany anything like the position they held before 1933. The propaganda in the six years of the National Socialist régime has so filled the nation, and especially the youth, with hostility to Jews that even under

a changed régime the restoration of past conditions seems inconceivable.

2. The Aryan theory

The National Socialists have attempted to provide a new theoretical basis for hostility to Jews. They pay no attention to the difference of religion between Jew and Christian. They do not rest content with the assertion that the Jews are too strongly represented in economic and cultural life, or that they are injurious to the State on account of their pacifist, democratic, or Socialist tendencies ; they base their hostility on the claim that the Jews differ from the German people in race and blood. The Germans, on this theory, are of " Aryan " origin and race ; the Jews belong to a totally different race, which the Nazis, for want of a definite name, call non-Aryan. In consequence of their heredity the non-Aryans are unable to show or to appreciate the Aryan virtues. In order to keep the Aryan national character of the Germans free from alien Jewish influences, there is only one thing that can be done : the Jews must be driven from their position in trade and industry, culture and politics, and a barrier must be set up between them and the Aryans, making impossible any racial intermingling and any influencing of the German national character by the Jews. The preservation of the purity of the Aryan civilization is necessary because among all the races of humanity it is the Aryans who are the actual representatives of civilization. It is they who all over the world have produced the highest achievements in civilization and have done constructive work, while the non-Aryans, that is to say the Jews, represent a destructive and injurious cultural element, or at the best are competitors who draw profit from the Aryan achievements.

This " Aryan " theory dates back to the doctrine of Count Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, nine-

teenth-century writers who held that the blond Northern Europeans, and especially the Teutonic race, are the actual civilizing element in the world. At that time, the period of the great philologists, it was believed that affinities in language between racial groups could be traced back to a common origin, and it was assumed that all groups speaking Indo-Germanic (Aryan) languages were descended from a prehistoric Aryan race. These Aryans included not only the Indians, who once spoke Sanskrit, but the philologically related Persians and Armenians, although these races are separated anthropologically by a wide gap from the Northern Europeans, and, on the other hand, are remarkably like the Jews.

For the National Socialists this Aryan theory was of great practical importance in the years following the War, when the Germans were overcome by deep depression. In the past the Germans had been full of self-confidence, but after the loss of the War, and the political humiliations they had to endure, confidence gave place to a sense of inferiority to the victor Powers. The Aryan theory was a means of restoring their confidence. In the non-Aryans, that is to say the Jews, they found a group to which they could safely display their superiority, and which they could hold responsible for all the ills they had suffered. It is no mere chance that in South Africa anti-Semitism and hatred of the negroes are strongest among the "poor whites". These things are their compensation for their sense of inferiority to the prosperous whites.

In the Aryan theory the National Socialists found a propaganda element of whose efficacy they may themselves have had no idea at the outset. Here as everywhere chauvinism fulfilled its function of giving the individual of no personal distinction the sense of membership of a superior group, and compensating him in this way for the hardships of his lot. He feels exalted when he can belong to a party

which excludes non-Aryans and parade in a uniform which is not allowed to them.

The Jews, with their logical habit of thought, imagined that they could effectively combat Nazi anti-Semitism by demonstrating the unsoundness of the Aryan theory. A voluminous literature on this subject has accumulated. It may be justified scientifically, but from a practical point of view it is certainly ineffective. It was of no importance to the National Socialists whether there is any scientific justification for the assumption of race differences between Jews and their German neighbours; all that mattered to them was that the degradation of the Jews enabled them to reawaken German self-confidence and, by summoning the Germans to fight an "enemy", to divert them from their own dissensions and anxieties and weld them into a combative unity.

The slender basis of the National Socialists' Aryan theory is best shown by the fact that during the short life of their régime the theory has undergone several transformations. It was altogether too obvious that not every Jew could be distinguished anthropologically from an "Aryan". The effort has therefore been made to convert the Aryan theory into a theory of the metaphysical or psychological unity of the German people, which is no less patently untenable. The various branches of the German nation fought with one another even in the nineteenth century, and down to the Great War the difference in mentality between the South and North Germans was an accepted fact and a favourite subject for jokes. The River Main was a dividing line not only politically but racially. The blond northern European type predominates only in North Germany, and in Central and Southern Germany it gives way more and more to the dark Alpine type. Under the pressure of these facts the Aryan theory has modified its past veneration of the blond North European. The

Nordic type is no longer regarded as the only representative of the Aryans, but only as the best. Since the Alpine racial element is also strongly represented among the Jews, though mainly with the admixture of other racial elements, there can be no question of an absolute racial difference between " Aryans " (Germans) and " non-Aryans " (Jews). All that can truly be said is that among a large part of the population of Northern Germany those physical characteristics predominate which anthropologists attribute to the Northern European racial type, and which are relatively rare among the Jews. In Southern Germany, on the other hand, among the majority of the population those physical characteristics predominate which anthropologists attribute to the Alpine race, and which are frequent also among the Jews. There are many Jews who look more " Aryan " than their Christian neighbours.

The representatives of the Aryan theory speak of an Aryan or a non-Aryan (Jewish) mentality, as though every person was either 100 per cent " Aryan " or 100 per cent Jewish. In reality the majority of the inhabitants of Germany display both " Aryan " and " Jewish " racial characteristics in varying degrees, so that the mental variations supposed to correspond to anthropological variations are mere questions of proportion. In all nations there have developed in the course of time great changes in racial composition, both through invasions in wartime and through peaceful infiltration or amalgamation. The political and military leaders in the past were entirely unconcerned about differences of nationality or race, and brought under their rule peoples of any race. Their new political frontiers also created new regional limits of marriage, since it was usual for members of a State to marry within its boundaries.

The considerable number of Jews in Germany who since emancipation have won world fame in the scientific, artistic, or economic field disposes of the National Socialists'

contention that the Jews are not a creative element in culture and particularly in art. It is possible, of course, for opinions to differ in regard to any man's scientific and especially his literary or artistic achievements; any fool can dismiss genius with contempt, as certain German writers on the history of literature have done with Heine and Jakob Wassermann and German mathematicians with Albert Einstein. But no one can get over the fact that, of the 38 persons in Germany on whom, up to 1937, Nobel prizes had been conferred for achievements in literature, medicine, and natural science, 9 were Jews and one a half-Jew; that is to say, the Jews' share was 25 per cent, and was thus about 25 times as large as their proportion of the population of Germany. Among these Nobel prizewinners were the physicists and chemists James Franck, Richard Willstätter, Fritz Haber, Adolf von Baeyer (with Christian father and Jewish mother), and the physicians Otto Warburg, Paul Ehrlich, Otto Löwi, August von Wassermann, and Otto Meyerhoff. In music the German Jews can point to such names as Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Jacques Offenbach, Joseph Joachim, Gustav Mahler, Hermann Levi, Bruno Walter, Fritz Kreisler. A history of modern painting in Germany would be as incomplete without the name of Max Liebermann as in Holland without Jozef Israels or France without Camille Pissarro. In German architecture Alfred Messel and Erich Mendelsohn, and in Holland Michel de Klerk, have done pioneer work. Among the most eminent representatives of German economic life were the brothers Ludwig and Isidor Löwe, founders of the Deutsche Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken, Emil Rathenau, founder of the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (General Electric Company), Albert Ballin, creator of the Hamburg-Amerika Paketfahrt A.G., Walter Rathenau, who organized Germany's economic system during the War, and Adolf Frank, founder of the potash industry

in Germany; also Fritz Haber (mentioned above), who, with the Jew Nicodem Caro, was the first to extract nitrogen from the air for the manufacture of fertilizers and explosives; and many others.

Present-day economic and cultural life in Germany is the creation of many racial and ethnic groups that have been fused together by the country's political history. Jews, who settled on the Rhine as early as the first century of the Christian era, have contributed to the racial composition of the German people. Their proportion in its blood is certainly higher than their present-day percentage of the population, and this historic fact cannot be altered. It would be a very bold statement that the immixture of Jewish blood has injured the German people. It is well known that Bismarck considered that an infiltration of Jewish blood into that of the Germans was actually desirable.

Any great difference in the physical characteristics of two racial groups is accompanied by differences in their mentality; but this fact can have but little application to Jews and "Aryans", since the racial differences between the individuals of these two groups show every possible gradation down to the infinitesimal. But differences in the mental attitude of human groups are not determined exclusively by racial differences. The racial characteristics determine what a man can become; what he actually does become depends also on environment and tradition. In the course of generations groups may undergo fundamental changes in their mental attitude, resulting from changes in their environment. Education may produce this result even in the lifetime of a single individual; twins born from a single egg, and therefore completely alike in their hereditary constitution, may develop different traits of character under the influence of different external circumstances.

In the mental and moral attitude of an adult, in his

" behaviour ", inherited qualities and the influence of environment and training are inextricably interwoven. Just as it is impossible to conceive of a carpet consisting only of warp or only of weft, so it is impossible to see in isolation the genotype of a man or woman, the purely hereditary elements. We see only the phainotype, the joint product of heredity and of environment and tradition.

The question whether the uncontested musical gift of the Jews differs in nature from the musical gift of other races has thus far been treated only polemically, by such writers as Richard Wagner ; it has not yet been thoroughly and impartially investigated. It needs to be considered not only in connexion with the relations between Jewish and German music, as by Wagner, but also in connexion with the special musical gifts of other European peoples, for instance the Italians.

The absolute difference in mentality which the Nazis claim to exist between Jews and " Aryans " has not prevented mixed marriages between Jews and Christians. These took place in Germany as in all other countries as the Jews, after emancipation, assimilated themselves culturally to their neighbours. Thus it can scarcely be maintained that between Jews and Christians there is a natural aversion based on difference of race. Conversely, similarity of race between two groups does not always imply mutual liking. The European political system, again, has nothing to do with race affinities ; otherwise Germany would not be the friend and ally of " Mediterranean " Italy, Magyar Hungary, and Mongol Japan, and would not be at war with England, a nation racially akin to her.

It is more than probable that, at least in Germany and the countries of Western Europe, if there had been no immigration from Eastern Europe, and no anti-Semitic propaganda, the Jews would in a few generations have been absorbed, and would have disappeared entirely through

the steadily increasing excess of deaths and especially through increasing intermarriages with their neighbours, just as they were absorbed in ancient times in many countries. The persons with particularly strong Jewish feeling would probably have sought membership of the Zionist movement and would have migrated in this or the next generation to Palestine. It was the Nazi propaganda that put an end to this process in Germany, and forced precipitate emigration on the Jews, including those who were already entirely assimilated to Germans. In January, 1933, when Hitler assumed office, there were about 540,000 Jews in Germany; at the time of the *Anschluss* there were about 180,000 Jews in Austria; in March, 1939, there were some 120,000 Jews in the Czech "Protectorate". By October, 1939, the respective figures had dropped to some 200,000, 66,000, and 80,000. Until they migrate or die, the life of the Jews in Greater Germany will be one of daily suffering. The majority are no longer able to support themselves and are dependent on aid from abroad; and the prohibition of visits to holiday resorts, public baths, theatres, cinemas, and concerts, the denial of admittance to hotels and restaurants, the placard to be found everywhere in shops "Jews not wanted", and the universal social ostracism, will remind them continually that they have become pariahs in Germany.

Owing to Germany's outstanding position among the Fascist or totalitarian States of today, and to the fact that in Germany this system of government was bound up from the first with hatred of the Jews, Fascism is regarded today as necessarily associated with anti-Semitism. There is no compelling reason why this should be so. Fascism implies the rigid control of the whole power of the State in one man's hands. Individuals are not permitted to express or give effect to their opinion when it differs from that of the Government. In the past the Jews were mainly supporters

of democracy, because it was to the Liberal parties that they owed their emancipation in the nineteenth century; but as their emancipation became an established fact, and they no longer had any ground for complaining of their political situation, they began to join the parties that defend the existing order. They share this tendency with all other classes of society, whose political attitude is similarly the expression of their contentment or discontent with their existing situation. Mussolini's Fascist régime in Italy, which until 1938 showed no hostility to Jews and had entrusted them with high posts in the administration, the army, and the navy, met with no strong opposition from the Jews. In Russia the authoritarian Government permits the Jews full equality of rights and combats anti-Semitism. It was regarded by the Jews as hostile to them only so long as it undermined their basis of existence; most of them became reconciled to it when they found a fresh livelihood in its new economic organization. Similarly in Turkey under the dictatorship of Kemal Pasha there were no signs either of anti-Semitism or of Jewish hostility to the dictatorship.

In the autumn of 1938 Italy followed the example of her German ally, decreeing laws under which, with the exception of about one-fourth, exempted on account of special services, Jews and half-Jews professing the Jewish faith were prohibited from marrying non-Jews; all Jewish children were restricted to Jewish schools; and Jews were forbidden to have enterprises in which more than one hundred persons were employed, or to own land worth more than 400,000 lire. They were excluded from service in the army and public administration, permitted as physicians and lawyers only to have Jewish patients or clients, and prohibited from employing "Aryan" Italian servants. All naturalizations of Jews since January 1, 1919, were declared invalid. All Jews of foreign

nationality (some 15,000) were to leave Italy (more than half did so by April 1939). Pope Pius XI protested unavailingly against these laws, the purpose of which was stated to be the preservation of the purity of the Italian race. It is clear that if there is no definite racial division between Jews and Christians in Germany there is still less difference between them in Italy, where the population is mainly of the Mediterranean race, and where Jews have lived without a break for more than two thousand years. With their Mediterranean racial component they were similar to the Italians from the first, and in the course of their domicile in Italy they became more and more like their neighbours through legal and illicit unions. It is scarcely credible that the exclusion of the 50,000 Jews from intermingling with the 43,000,000 Italians can really be the true purpose of the new legislation. It is much more probable that the Jews have been sacrificed to the interests of Italian foreign policy.

Nazi anti-Semitism has overflowed into Hungary, and produced in 1938 and 1939 two anti-Jewish laws which, though milder in form, are copies of the German legislation. Jews can no longer become public officials or notaries, or carry on newspapers, theatres, or cinemas, or acquire land in rural districts ; they are limited to 6 per cent of the membership of professions and 12 per cent of the personnel of business firms.[1] Only a section of the Jews are permitted to vote at elections. Mr. Imredi, the Prime Minister, who introduced the second Bill into Parliament, was compelled to resign because the Opposition proved that one of his grandfathers was a Jew.

After the proclamation of the German protectorate

[1] In business the Jewish employees are gradually to be dismissed so that within four years their proportion shall be reduced to 12 per cent; in the professions no further Jews are to be admitted to practise until the proportion of Jews has fallen below 6 per cent. The Jews now studying are thus shut out of the professions for many years to come.

over Bohemia-Moravia in March 1939, measures were adopted in that country to restrict the Jewish share in the professions and in economic life. In June 1939 these measures were carried farther: Jews were prohibited from acquiring real estate or securities and from setting up new business enterprises. Slovakia has also begun discrimination against the Jews. It has expropriated the Jewish landowners and divided their land among the Christians. In July 1939 it limited the number of Jews in the medical profession to 4 per cent, so that out of nearly 700 Jewish physicians and surgeons only 54 were allowed to continue in practice. Similarly the number of Jewish lawyers was reduced to 34.

The German type of anti-Semitism has promoted or stimulated the anti-Semitic movement in various countries overseas.[1] This has happened especially in such countries as South Africa, Tanganyika, the Argentine, Brazil, and Chile, countries with a large German element in their population. This element has kept in touch with the mother country and has been drawn into the German political development, a process furthered by well-organized propaganda from Germany. In Brazil the Integralist party, and in South Africa the party of the Grey Shirts, are Fascist and anti-Semitic in tendency. In Brazil the creation of a party of this type is the more astonishing since this country, in which the whites, mainly of Portuguese and Italian origin, and the coloured race live on terms of equality, is a living contradiction of the German racial theory. Here anti-Semitism owes its birth mainly to the influence of Germany, through the agency of Germans in Brazil.

[1] For details see Israel Cohen, "The Nazi International", *Quarterly Review*, October 1938. It is stated that the German Government spent £21 millions on propaganda abroad in 1937.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EROSIVE EFFECT OF ASSIMILATION

1. Assimilation as a social process

Anti-Semitism aims at eliminating the Jews by political and economic pressure; assimilation tends to reduce the internal coherence of the Jewish community, and to detach from it the elements most exposed to the attraction of the surrounding alien culture. Between the two millstones of anti-Semitism and assimilation Judaism is in danger of being destroyed. The Jews stream out of the anti-Semitic countries into those which are relatively free from anti-Semitism; but in the process of migration their communal ties are weakened. The individual's gain is the community's loss. Assimilation has never ceased since the destruction of the Jewish State, and has led in some countries, such as China, to the complete disappearance of the Jews, or to the disappearance of all but an insignificant number. The rate of assimilation was greatest when, as in Hellenistic times, the culture of the environment was high. It was retarded when, after the fall of the Roman Empire, large regions of Europe sank to a low cultural level; it continued then only in the realms of the high Arab civilization. When Christian civilization in Europe began to advance after the Renaissance, the Jews were already caught in their self-imposed segregation and confined by law to their ghettoes, from which they had little opportunity of association with their environment. Only

after their emancipation in recent times has it been possible for the Christian culture once more to exert its full influence upon them, with the result that in many countries they have adopted it in place of their own. This process is still in full swing.

Assimilation does not occur solely among the Jews. It is a universal process in the life of peoples. A group which through migration or conquest comes within the realm of another and more powerful group always tends to adopt the speech and habits of the ruling element, in the hope of thus improving its social position.[1] If the Jews, in their migrations after the destruction of the Jewish State, had gone only into countries of higher civilization, probably no trace of them would now have been left. Only the fact that they went also into countries of lower civilization has preserved them from extinction. In these countries they formed a reserve from which their losses elsewhere could be made good. The fact that they concentrated in the towns and formed strong local communities also contributed to their continued existence. If they had been scattered uniformly over their new countries, the area of contact with their neighbours, and therewith the tendency to assimilation, would have been increased.

The persons who belong formally to the Jewish religion at the present day may thus be classified according to the degree of their estrangement from the Jewish tradition and religion :

(1) The fully assimilated Jews, who no longer have any sense of a bond with the Jewish tradition, who speak the language of their country as their normal language, who do not differ from the Christians in their education and their way of living, and who are in process of complete

[1] The same process is found in fashions, whose domination is only to be explained by the fact that the middle and lower classes slavishly imitate the upper class in every change in its clothing.

severance from Jewry through the constantly increasing baptisms and mixed marriages among them. They number some five millions. To this category belong the Jews who have been settled for generations in Western and Central Europe, including Hungary (without Carpatho-Russia), Bohemia, and Moravia, and the children, or at all events grandchildren, of the Jewish immigrants into the United States, Great Britain, and the British Dominions.

(2) The half-assimilated Jews; to these belong in general the Jews who emigrated before 1900 from Eastern Europe to the United States, the British Dominions, and South America; also the Jews in Soviet Russia and in the Balkan States (except Roumania). They number in all six to seven millions. Most of these Jews are bilingual. They still know Yiddish, but speak also the language of their country. Outside Soviet Russia they visit the synagogues on high feast days, and they still observe some of the Jewish religious ceremonies.

(3) The Jews who remain loyal to Jewish tradition; these still retain Yiddish (or Sephardic or Arabic) as their main language. To them belong the bulk of the Jews in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia, Carpatho-Russia, and Roumania, and the Jews in the Oriental countries; their number is about four and a half millions.

(4) The National Jews in Palestine, who habitually speak Hebrew or are learning to do so; they numbered 460,000 in August 1939.

If the process of assimilation is gradual, extending over several generations, and confined to a relatively small group, it can proceed without occasioning opposition in the larger containing group. The French Huguenots were absorbed peacefully in England and in Prussia, and the Jews were as peacefully absorbed in South America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The assimilation of the Jews at the present day has produced opposition

movements in those countries into which Jews have come in masses and have tried to achieve assimilation in a short time in an environment already showing fixed ethnic characteristics.

Assimilation as a social phenomenon cannot be judged by ethical standards. It is natural that a man should not be willing to be regarded for all time as a stranger in the land in which he dwells, suffering the disabilities of the alien. No one can blame the immigrants into the United States for wanting to make it easier to secure acceptance as equals in American life by assimilating their habits to those of the Americans. Assimilation is only objectionable in those cases in which, for the sake of material gain, a man denies his true opinions, as when a Jew accepts baptism for the sake of gain without being a genuine believer in the Christian faith.

The assimilation of the Jews usually passes through three stages. It begins with the abandonment of their own language in favour of that of the country of their domicile, and of Jewish in favour of non-Jewish names. It continues with the transfer of the children from the religious to the secular schools, resulting in the replacement of the Jewish education and tradition by that of the new country. It ends in the loss of the sense of membership of the Jewish community and the abandonment of the Jewish religion.

2. Changes of language

(a) *General development*

The Jews, in the course of their history, have several times changed their language. At the time of the downfall of the Jewish State Hebrew had already largely fallen into disuse in daily intercourse, the Jews having adopted Aramaic in Palestine, Greek in Egypt and Byzantium, and

Latin in Italy. When the Jews followed in the footsteps of victorious Islam and settled in North Africa and Spain, these languages gave place to Arabic. In these regions Arabic remained their main language for many centuries. The greatest Jewish scholar of the period, Maimonides, wrote chiefly in Arabic. In other European countries the Jews adopted the languages that had developed out of Latin, such as French, Italian, and, in Spain, after that country's loss by Islam, Castilian. In the Byzantine Empire their language was Greek until, under the influence of the Jewish immigration from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century, it was replaced by Castilian. In Germany at the end of the Middle Ages German became their ordinary language. But though the language of their daily intercourse underwent repeated changes, Hebrew remained their written language. It was used in religious services and writings, and in all important documents. Hebrew was a kind of Esperanto for the Jews in all countries, and was of great value to them in international trade relations.

At the present time, under the influence of universal compulsory education in the United States, the children of Jewish immigrants may forget Yiddish in a few years and speak idiomatic English in its place, though sometimes with a foreign accent which will only be lost in the next generation. In the Middle Ages this process took much longer. Frequently the Jews would intersperse their own language with words and grammatical formations from the language of their new country, making a jargon with vestiges of Hebrew, such as Jew-Aramaic and Jew-Greek in ancient times, and Jew-Italian, Jew-French, and Jew-Arabic in the Middle Ages. Conversely, especially for literary use, the new language might serve as a basis, interspersed with elements of the original tongue. To this day there survive a Jew-Persian dialect in Iran and Jew-Tartar

in the Crimea, spoken by small groups of Jews. But the main types of Jewish vernacular since the end of the Middle Ages have been Yiddish (Jew-German) and Sephardic (also called Spaniole or Ladino — a modified form of Castilian).

(b) *Yiddish and Spaniole*

Yiddish traces its origin from Middle High German, which the Jews adopted from the people of South and Central Germany about the time of the Crusades, embodying in it an admixture of Hebrew words. This language they retained when in the fourteenth century they began to migrate in large numbers to Poland. At this time German nobles, burghers, and peasants were spreading eastwards as colonizers, and became the ruling class. The use of the German language thus gave the Jews an improved status. For the same reason the Jews who had come earlier from Byzantium into the Slav countries, and had adopted the Slav languages, abandoned those languages for Yiddish when they came into contact with the immigrants from Germany. Yiddish has remained down to our own time the principal language of intercourse of the Jews who spread from Poland into the other countries of Eastern Europe, or abroad. Like every language, it has undergone modifications in the course of time. To its Middle High German basis were added more and more Hebraisms and infiltrations from the Slav languages. The Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe into the United States have interspersed the language with Anglicisms. In Eastern Europe Yiddish dialects have been formed, varying from country to country — Lithuanian, Polish, Roumanian, and so on. In the course of centuries the language has been so remodelled and recast by the Jews that it serves them very well for the expression of their ideas and has been lovingly cultivated by them.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century Yiddish began to lose ground in Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia, and by the middle of the century it went entirely out of use among their Jews. Among the Jews in Alsace-Lorraine, who had belonged to France until 1871 and, owing to lack of communication with the small number of assimilated Jews in the rest of France, had developed their own culture, vestiges of a Yiddish dialect have survived down to the present day. In Russia at the time of the census of 1897, 96·9 per cent of the Jews spoke Yiddish as their mother tongue (98 per cent within the Pale of Settlement), and only 3·1 per cent Russian, Polish, German, etc. But at the census of 1926 only 76·1 per cent of the Jews in the Ukraine and 90·1 per cent in White Russia spoke Yiddish as their ordinary language, and the proportion in Central Russia had fallen from 80·4 per cent in 1897 to 48·4 per cent. Since the census of 1926, according to reliable information, the process of transfer from Yiddish to Russian has continued at an increasing pace, especially in the working class. In the mining district of the Ukraine, with a large Jewish working class element, only 46·3 per cent of the Jews spoke Yiddish in 1926; in the agrarian province of Polesie, now under Russian occupation, 89·9 per cent. It is natural that there should be a considerable difference between the older generation and the younger one, which has attended the common schools, and that as the older people die out the percentage of Russian-speaking Jews should increase.

In Poland, where the language of intercourse is the criterion for nationality, at the census of 1921, 73·8 per cent of the Jews spoke Yiddish, 25·5 per cent Polish, and 0·7 per cent other languages. The restoration of an independent Polish State has increased the national feeling and the value set on the Polish language among the Poles, and has also accelerated the change from Yiddish to Polish among the Jews, especially since more than 80 per cent

of the Jewish children attend schools in which the language of instruction is Polish. The tendency to accept Polish is strongest in those districts in which Jews are associated only with Poles, and weaker in the districts in which there are also White Russians or Ukrainians. White Russian and Ukrainian are minority languages in Poland, and do not exercise the same attraction for the Jews as Polish, the language of the State.

In Latvia in 1930, 94,400 Jews, or 78·0 per cent of the total, spoke Yiddish; the rest spoke German, Russian, Polish, or Lettish. Owing to the small radius of the Lettish language, it is less attractive to Jews than Russian or Polish.

In Roumania in 1930 Yiddish was the language of intercourse for 68·9 per cent of the Jews; the remaining 31·1 per cent spoke Roumanian, Hungarian, or German. There is a considerable difference here between the Jews of town and country: in the towns the Yiddish-speaking Jews were only 59 per cent of the total, and in the villages 75 per cent.

In Czechoslovakia in 1930 Yiddish was used by 92·7 per cent of the Jews in Carpatho-Russia, by only 53·1 per cent of those in Slovakia, and by scarcely any Jews in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, although in Moravia and Silesia 51·9 per cent and in Bohemia 20·7 per cent of the Jews by religion declared themselves Jews by nationality.

In the United States Yiddish is usually spoken by the immigrants from Eastern Europe in the first generation, though with many Anglicisms. In the second generation it comes second to the language of the country, and in the third it disappears entirely. The second generation, brought up to speak English, retain Yiddish because they use it in conversation with their parents; with their children they speak only English. According to the census of 1920, 1,093,000, or 32·1 per cent of the Jews, spoke

Yiddish. In the census of 1930 the absolute figure had grown to 1,223,000, but the percentage had fallen to 27·8. Since 1930 the percentage has fallen still more rapidly, because the Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe has almost entirely ceased. Thirty years ago the East Side shop signs in New York were mainly in Yiddish; today much the greater number of them are in English.

The Yiddish-speaking element is still strong in Canada, where 90 per cent of the Jewish population consists of immigrants who arrived after 1900. In 1931, including children under five years of age with their parents, it was found that 96·2 per cent of the Jews spoke Yiddish; 0·9 per cent spoke Spaniole.

Spaniole, which is based on the Castilian spoken in Christian Spain in the fifteenth century, was carried into the Oriental countries by the Jews expelled from Spain, and has remained in use to this day among the Jews, in the Oriental countries together with Arabic, and in the Balkans. Here, like Yiddish in Eastern Europe, it had the attraction for the Jews of improving their social status: it marked them as West Europeans. In Bulgaria in 1925 Spaniole was the language of intercourse of 90 per cent of the Jews; in Turkey, where it appears in the official statistics as Jewish (Yahudiye), it was spoken in 1927 by 84·1 per cent of the Jews; in Yugoslavia, where the Jewish population is made up of about 60 per cent of Ashkenazim and 40 per cent of Sephardim, about half of the latter still speak Spaniole in ordinary intercourse; the other half speak Serbian. Spaniole is the main language of intercourse of the Jews of Salonica; it is still understood also by some of the Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam, most of whom have been virtually assimilated; the total number of these Jews in 1930 was only 4547. Like Yiddish, Sephardic has lost much of its spread in recent decades. In most of the Balkan States the Governments compel the Jews to educate

their children in the language of the country, and the use of that language becomes also more and more important in business life.

(c) *The revival of Hebrew in Palestine*

In Palestine as elsewhere Hebrew had entirely disappeared as a means of daily intercourse before the beginning of the Christian era. It remained in use only in literature and for documents of special importance, and as a means of communication between Jews of different countries. In the 'eighties of the last century, when, under the influence of the Khibbat Zion (Love of Zion), the emigration of East European Jews to Palestine began, these Jews tried to introduce Hebrew in place of Yiddish, German, Polish, and Russian. Much was done in this direction by Eliezer ben Yehuda, who died in 1922; he worked enthusiastically for the reintroduction of Hebrew. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the Khoveve Zion (Friends of Zion), of Odessa, founded in Jaffa the first school in which instruction was given in Hebrew, and from then Hebrew began to make progress. In 1913 the Zionist Organization took charge of a large number of the Jewish schools in Palestine, in which instruction had been given in German, and replaced it by Hebrew. In this network of schools some 50,000 children received their education in 1936–37. In the remaining Jewish schools in Palestine, with some 20,000 children, Hebrew has also been introduced almost without exception as the language of instruction.

In this way it became possible to educate the growing generation, who owing to their differing countries of origin had spoken a dozen different languages, in a common tongue, and thus to weld them together nationally and culturally. At the census of 1922, 95·9 per cent, and at the 1931 census 165,488, or 94·8 per cent of the Jews in

Palestine gave Hebrew as their language of intercourse. The figure has since grown through further immigration and continued increase in the use of Hebrew, and may be estimated at some 400,000 for the end of 1939.

In the Palestinian Constitution Hebrew is recognized alongside English and Arabic as an official language of the country. The Jews are entitled to use it in their intercourse with the authorities. On all Government buildings, and on coins and postage stamps, Hebrew appears together with English and Arabic.

Outside Palestine, in Western and Central Europe the knowledge of Hebrew scarcely exists. In Eastern Europe and among the East European emigrants of the first generation there are still many who can read and write Hebrew, but only the few who are brought up in Hebrew schools are really able to speak it. At the Polish census of 1931, 243,539 Jews gave Hebrew as their language of daily intercourse, but the majority of them probably did so only to emphasize their allegiance to Zionism. In the Oriental countries there are still many Jews who write and understand Hebrew, but here, too, the number of those who use it in daily intercourse is not large. The number of persons outside Palestine who habitually speak Hebrew probably does not exceed 200,000.

Palestine is the centre not only for the use of Hebrew in speech as a living tongue, but also for the issue of newspapers and books in Hebrew. Of the 799 books published in Hebrew in the whole world in 1935, 500 were published in Palestine. Of these 799 books, 190 were school books, 104 scientific, and 140 books for children. Of all these the majority were printed in Palestine. Only in the case of the 145 religious books (chiefly prayer-books) did the majority, 125, appear outside Palestine.

In Russia the instruction of children in the Hebrew tongue is prohibited. In the United States, Hebrew has

been recognized in some colleges as a matriculation subject. It has also been included in the curriculum, and, in 1937, 2000 students attended Hebrew classes. In Jerusalem there is a special committee (Vaad Halashon) which is recognized by the Jews in Palestine as the supreme authority for the development of the language.

(d) *The incidence of the various languages among the Jews*

Table XVII shows the incidence of the various languages among the Jews. Yiddish still holds first place in absolute

TABLE XVII

THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE JEWS

Language	Number of Jews speaking the Language—		Percentage of Jews speaking the Language—	
	In 1905	In 1938	In 1905	In 1938
1. Yiddish	7,000,000	6,800,000	60·6	40·7
2. English	1,100,000	4,200,000	9·5	25·1
3. Polish	200,000	1,000,000	1·8	6·0
4. Russian	100,000	1,000,000	0·9	6·0
5. Other Slav tongues—Czech, Bulgarian, Serbian, etc.	100,000	300,000	0·9	1·8
6. German	1,250,000	600,000	10·0	3·6
7. Arabic and Turkish	250,000	600,000	2·2	3·6
8. Hebrew	20,000	500,000	0·2	3·0
9. Magyar	600,000	400,000	5·2	2·4
10. Spaniole	350,000	300,000	3·0	1·8
11. French	150,000	300,000	1·3	1·8
12. Roumanian	..	300,000	..	1·8
13. Dutch	110,000	125,000	0·9	0·7
14. Spanish and Portuguese (South America)	..	100,000	..	0·6
15. Italian	40,000	50,000	0·3	0·3
16. Other languages	280,000	142,000	2·4	0·8
	11,550,000	16,717,000	100·0	100·0

numbers, but the percentage has fallen from 60·6 in 1905 to 40·7 in 1938. Conversely, the number of English-speaking Jews grew from 1,100,000 in 1905 to 4,200,000 in 1938, and their percentage from 9·5 to 25·1. This is due, of

course, to the immigration of Jews into English-speaking countries, especially the United States. Since a further 1,500,000 Jews who still speak Yiddish are living in English-speaking countries, the use of English among the Jews is bound to increase. Polish, which in 1905 was spoken by only 200,000 Jews, is now spoken by at least 1,000,000, and it may be estimated that in Soviet Russia at least as many speak Russian as their language of daily intercourse. German was spoken by 1,250,000 Jews in 1905; by 1938 the number had fallen to 600,000, the number of Jewish children in schools in which the teaching was carried on in German having been greatly diminished by emigration from Germany and Austria, and by the cession of Alsace-Lorraine and the eastern provinces after the Great War. The transfer of former Austrian territories to Czecho-slovakia and Roumania after the War also produced a diminution in the use of German among the Jews. Turkish and Arabic are spoken in European Turkey, in Asia Minor, and in North Africa, by some 600,000 Jews.

The adoption of many new languages by the Jews of various countries in place of the single common language divides the Jews into a number of cultural communities. Until the end of the nineteenth century Yiddish was sufficiently understood, if not spoken, by almost all the Ashkenazic Jews for Yiddish and German ("Congress German") to be specified as the languages of the Zionist Congress in 1897. The Anglicization of many millions of Jews has since made the language problem much more difficult, and in the coming generation the Ashkenazic Jews will no longer have a common language.

3. Changes of names

With the Yiddish language Jewish names began to be discarded. A person's name is not only a means of identify-

ing him personally; in many cases it is also a mark of his nationality, and when it is different from the names customary in his country it gives its owner the stamp of the alien. Until the end of the eighteenth century a Jew was usually known by his own and his father's first names (usually both Biblical) — *e.g.*, Moses ben Jacob, either in this Hebrew form or in the form customary in the country of domicile: in England, Moses Jacobs; in Germany, Moses Jakobssohn; in Russia, Moysey Yakobovitch. Among the Oriental Jews as among other Oriental peoples this form of designation is still frequent. In large cities, where the frequent repetition of the same names might lead to confusion, it was usual to add another name, derived from the bearer's character, physical peculiarities, occupation, or domicile, or, in the case of newcomers, from their place of origin. This additional name often passed from father to son. If it was derived from a city, it would be given the adjectival ending — Warsaw would become Warschauer in Germany, Warszawski in Poland, and so on.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the enlightened Christians urged the Jews to abandon all Jewish peculiarities, and they were asked to adopt fixed family names; this they largely did. In 1787 a law was decreed in Austria requiring the Jews to adopt German family names and to Germanize their Jewish first names. Those Jews who omitted to do so were assigned surnames by a special commission; these names were sometimes ridiculous and humiliating. Some time later similar laws were passed in France, Russia, and the German States. These laws were promulgated partly for the purpose of assimilation and partly in order to facilitate the keeping of official registers and the compilation of taxation lists. In Prussia a law of 1812 granted citizenship to Jews domiciled in the country, but required them to adopt fixed surnames within six months.

In adopting German first names the Jews preferred those with the same initials as customary Jewish names, such as Moritz for Moses, Siegfried for Simon, Martin or Markus for Mordechai, Isidor for Izaak; similarly they would choose in America Irwin for Israel or Mortimer for Moses. Some of these names have almost acquired a Jewish character and are avoided by Christians. The practice has been gradually abandoned in recent times, and the Jews choose the same names for their children as their Christian compatriots. The Berlin directory of 1926 showed that only 10·9 per cent of the persons named Cohn had Jewish-sounding first names, 86·7 per cent had names that sounded non-Jewish, and 2·4 per cent had foreign non-Jewish first names.[1]

In most countries the choice of a child's first names is left to its parents, but the change of a surname is permitted only subject to the consent of the authorities. This makes the changing of the family name more difficult, but it occurs nevertheless. Especially in migrating to foreign countries Jews would translate (where possible) or abbreviate their name, or alter its spelling to bring it into line with their new environment.[2]

Soon after the National Socialists came into power in Germany, Jews were forbidden to adopt new surnames of non-Jewish character, and the authorities were empowered to prohibit Jews who had already adopted such names from continuing to use them. Under a law of 1938 the German Government restricted the Jews in the choice of first names for their children; they are only permitted to give their children names included in a specified list. This list omits almost all the Old Testament names which through

[1] Gerhard Kessler, *Die Familiennamen in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1935), p. 23.

[2] For instance, Ottolenghi is the Italian form of Oettlinger (from the town of Oettlingen, in Southern Germany); Sacerdote or Kaplan are translations of Cohen (priest).

the influence of the churches have become general throughout European civilization, such as Joseph, Johann (from Jochanan), Marie, Selma, Elisabeth. In substitution for these the list contains names formed in the Yiddish language before the nineteenth century, which sound strange or laughable to Germans. Jews who at present have first names not included in the prescribed list must take the additional forename of Israel or Sarah, so that they may be recognizable as Jews in all documents.

Conversely the Nazi Government has made it easy for "Aryans" with Jewish-sounding surnames, particularly Biblical names, to get rid of them.

In Eastern Europe the great majority of the Jews retain their Yiddish first names, and have no inclination to alter either these or their surnames. In Palestine, the Jews are replacing the names they brought from European countries by Hebrew first names and surnames. The Palestinian laws permit this change of name, subject only to announcement in the official journal.

CHAPTER XIV

DISPLACEMENT OF JEWISH BY SECULAR EDUCATION

1. The Chayder

The traditional type of school among the Jews, dating from medieval times, was the so-called *Chayder*. Where the number of children was considerable and there were several classes, the school was called Talmud Torah. Instruction in the Chayder consisted in reading and writing Hebrew and in memorizing texts by means of mechanical repetition and learning by rote, a method which probably has been usual in the East since the earliest times, and which still survives in Mohammedan schools. As the range of Hebrew literature is very wide, and extends to almost every province of life, the knowledge gained from it was extensive. But as the Talmud, the principal work in Hebrew literature, reproduces Oriental learning of about A.D. 500, and not always in its completest or purest form, the teaching in the Chayder and the Talmud Torah is extremely backward and is useless for practical or scientific purposes. Its methods, however, train the memory, and through analytical work on legal and religious texts stimulate the critical faculties of the pupil. But its most important result is negative — the pupil learns nothing in it of the intellectual developments of the last 1500 years, and his attention is riveted to the ancient religious literature; his outlook is consequently that of an Oriental Jew at the beginning of the Middle Ages. This teaching was a unique

medium for continuing Jewish tradition, unchanged, from generation to generation, and for keeping the Jews together as a separate cultural unit.

The teaching in the Chayder and the Talmud Torah, as carried on even now in Eastern Europe, concentrates on literary knowledge and entirely neglects natural science and art; because of this it is responsible for a certain lack of interest in nature among the East European Jews. It also pays little attention to external appearance and demeanour, regarding intellectual training as alone of importance. "Manners makyth Men", the Winchester motto, in its elevation of good manners and external appearance, is the direct opposite of the educational basis of the Chayder. This Jewish system also has no place for sport. To the pious Jew physical exercises seem an idle game, taking the young away from the only task of importance, the learning of the Torah. The place of games was taken by a sort of intellectual sport, of acrobatics of the brain, needed for the understanding and further development of Talmudist casuistry. Until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries most Christian children knew nothing of compulsory education; they could play in the open air, while the Jewish boy was usually confined to the Chayder from his fourth year, sharpening his wits and improving his memory on works of the Hebrew literature day after day in unhealthy schoolrooms. The ideal of this system was the "Matmid", the young man who studied the old Hebrew literature without intermission from morning to night.[1] The Jewish boy never knew the carefree existence of his Christian comrades; he was burdened even in his childhood with study and with participation in the cares of his

[1] The Yiddish maxim "*Toire ist die beste S'choire*" (the learning of the Scripture is the best preparation for life) is significant. The Jewish belief in the value of knowledge ("Knowledge is power") is paralleled only among the Chinese.

parents and his co-religionists, and had no real youth. This unquestionably influenced his whole later life, giving him the stamp of gravity and perpetual preoccupation. Subconsciously he was affected throughout his life by his joyless youth. It was no wonder that this education tended to produce intellectual forcing and physical inferiority.

Only toward the end of the nineteenth century, in those countries in which their assimilation to the Christians had made considerable progress, did the Jews begin to take up sport. Sports unions for Jewish youth were formed first in Austria and Germany; the Bar Kochba sports union, for instance, was formed in Berlin in 1898. In the German, Austrian, and Hungarian Universities, in which many of the Christian students were united in fencing corps, these were copied by the Jews. Of more importance was the foundation of the Maccabi world sports association, which began to train the Jewish youth of all countries in sport from the beginning of the twentieth century. Many Jews became members of the general (Christian) sports associations, but transferred to the Jewish associations when anti-Semitism began to spread in the sports unions. Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, showed special interest in the physical training of Jews by means of sports. In Palestine all kinds of sport are intensively pursued. In 1932 and 1935 a Jewish Olympiad (Makkabiah) was held in Tel-Aviv, and Jewish sports unions sent competitors from all over the world. In the United States and in Canada the organization of sports among the Jewish youth is supervised by the Jewish Welfare Board, founded in 1921, which maintains "Jewish Centres" with gymnasiums in some 150 cities.

In Russia since the Great War the Jewish society "Ose", and in Poland the similar society "Toz", have done much for the health and strength of the young by

means of polyclinics, maternal advice, school hygiene, sport, holidays, sanatoria, and so on. In Palestine these activities are carried on by the Hadassah society, founded by Jewish women of the United States in 1918, and by the Nathan Strauss Health Centre.

The Chayder and the Talmud Torah remained the customary types of Jewish school until the end of the eighteenth century. In Central and Western Europe they disappeared in the first half of the nineteenth century, their place being taken by the general educational system of the country. In Eastern Europe, too, they have now lost much of their past monopoly. The heaviest blow they suffered here was the introduction of universal compulsory education in the present century, many of the Chayder and Talmud Torah schools failing to obtain recognition as schools on account of inadequacy in the training of their teachers or in their curriculum. In the centres of orthodox Judaism, such as Carpatho-Russia, Slovakia, parts of Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia, orthodox parents still try to keep their sons (the daughters seem to matter less) away from the public schools, fearing that they may become estranged from traditional Judaism. In these countries the Chayder and Talmud Torah schools continue to exist; in Russia they are prohibited.

There are no precise statistics as to the number of Jewish children still being taught in Chayder and Talmud Torah schools; their number is said to be about 100,000 in Poland (1936), or about one-fifth of the Jewish children of school age in that country.

2. Jewish secular schools

As a rule the place of the Chayder and Talmud Torah schools was taken by the public schools, in which Jewish and Christian children were taught alongside each other

in the language of the country. But there is an intermediate type of special Jewish primary schools (and a smaller number of secondary schools), in which the teaching is carried on either in Yiddish, in Hebrew, or in the language of the country. They are distinguished from the ordinary schools, even when the instruction is given in the language of the country, by taking only Jewish children, employing only Jewish teachers, closing on Saturday instead of Sunday, and teaching in addition to the usual subjects Jewish religion and history and usually the Hebrew language. They are thus better able to keep alive in the children a sense of community with Judaism and respect for Jewish tradition.

The Jewish schools of this type, using Yiddish or Hebrew as the medium of instruction, are fairly widespread in Russia, where the Government permits every nationality, including the Jews, to send its children to schools which teach in its own language, and provides for the maintenance of these schools. According to the official statistics, 281,772 Jewish school children in 1926–27, or 39·7 per cent of the total, attended these Yiddish-using schools; the remaining 60·3 per cent attended schools using other languages, principally Russian, as the medium of instruction. In Poland in 1933–34 only some 50,000 children, or 11 per cent of the total of 459,000 Jewish school children, attended Jewish secular schools. Half of these attended the schools teaching in Hebrew which are maintained by the "Tarbuth" society; the remainder attended the schools of the "Central Organization for Yiddish schools". "Tarbuth" Hebrew schools also exist in Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Bulgaria, with some 30,000 children in all in 1933–34. In Latvia, where the Government leaves the care of education to the various nationalities, 85·9 per cent of the Jewish children attending elementary schools in 1934–35, and 63·9 per cent of the

Jewish children attending secondary schools, went to Jewish schools.

Palestine differs from all other countries, since almost all its Jewish school children attend elementary and secondary schools in which Hebrew is the sole or principal medium of instruction. Of its 68,182 school children in 1936–37, 67,247, or 98·6 per cent, attended these schools, and only 935, or 1·4 per cent, went to non-Jewish schools. The teaching staff in the Jewish schools numbered 3275 in all.

In the United States and Canada the Jewish labour organizations, whose members consist mainly of immigrants from Eastern Europe, have founded courses for the teaching of Yiddish and of Jewish subjects. Their number was estimated in 1936 at 300, with some 20,000 children.

Other Jewish secular schools, in which teachers and pupils are Jewish and special attention is paid to Jewish subjects, but the teaching is given in the language of the country, include the Jewish elementary schools in some of the countries of Central Europe, for instance Prussia, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. In Czechoslovakia in 1932, 14·3 per cent of the Jewish elementary school children attended such Jewish schools, and in Hungary in 1933–34, 44·4 per cent.

In Prussia, in 1931, of the 25,730 Jewish elementary school children, 68 per cent attended the ordinary schools, 16 per cent private Jewish schools, and 16 per cent Jewish communal schools; that is to say, Jewish elementary schools supported by the Government. When the Nazis came into power in Germany, and anti-Semitism in the ordinary schools made attendance almost unendurable for Jewish children, many of them were transferred to Jewish elementary schools already existing or to new ones started. From 1934 to 1936 the number of pupils in Jewish elementary schools in Prussia grew from 8000 to 14,000. Under a

decree of September 1935 the German Government provided — on paper — for the erection of special elementary schools wherever the number of "non-Aryan" children in the community exceeded 20. This regulation remained nominally in force for three years, till November 1938, when, at the time of the German pogroms, all Jewish children were suddenly excluded from the ordinary schools. In Italy in the autumn of 1938, under the special legislation for the preservation of the purity of the "Aryan" race, it was laid down that Jewish children must attend special Jewish schools, and this rule was at once put into operation.

There are also some Jewish schools overseas using the language of the country. In the Argentine, toward the end of the nineteenth century, schools were set up by the J.C.A. in its agricultural colonies in which the teaching was given in Yiddish. In 1911 the Government took over these schools, and replaced Yiddish by Spanish as the medium of instruction, but made no other change in the Jewish character of the schools. In 1933 there were 70 of these schools in existence, with 5355 pupils. In Brazil at the same time there were some 1500 children in Jewish schools in which the teaching was given in Portuguese; these schools were subsidized by the J.C.A.

In the province of Quebec the schools are run by the religious communities, and the Jews, like the Roman Catholics and Protestants, would be entitled to have their own schools paid for from public funds; so far this right has not become operative.

In the Oriental countries there are Jewish schools in Egypt, Morocco, Tunis, and Algiers, giving instruction in the language of the country. These schools are maintained either by the local communities or by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. The network of schools maintained by the Alliance in the Oriental countries included in 1935 some 120 schools with 50,000 pupils.

The Jewish secular schools are mainly primary, with only a few secondary schools. It is estimated that about one-third of the Jewish elementary school children in Central and Eastern Europe still attend Jewish schools; the percentage of the secondary school children doing so is much smaller.[1] In Prussia, in 1931, of the 17,000 Jewish children attending secondary schools only 12 per cent went to Jewish schools, all of them private schools. In Hungary, in 1933–34, of the Jewish children attending elementary schools 15·8 per cent, and of those attending secondary schools 14·6 per cent, were attending Jewish schools.

3. Jewish children in the ordinary primary and secondary schools

With their traditional regard for education, the Jews have done their utmost to give their children the best schooling attainable. When the children started attending the ordinary schools, instead of Jewish schools, the parents sent them on to the secondary schools, in spite of the higher fees. In this they had the advantage of living in towns, and thus of having easier access to the higher schools. The differences from country to country in the percentage of Jewish school children attending secondary schools are an expression of the differences in the financial circumstances of the parents and in the strength of their desire to give their children a modern general education. (See Table below.)

In Germany in 1933 the Nazi Government prohibited

[1] Poland forms an exception; here Jewish children find difficulty in gaining admission to the public secondary schools, and are thus compelled to go to private schools, some of which are entirely or mainly attended by Jewish children. In 1934–35 the 10,000 Jewish children attending public secondary schools formed 10 per cent of the total number attending these schools, while the 19,000 Jewish children attending private secondary schools were 30·2 per cent of the total.

Country	Year	Percentage of School Children attending Secondary Schools	
		Among the Jews	Among the Christians
Prussia . . .	1921	60·5	9·7
Berlin . . .	1933	49·9	22·0
Hungary . . .	1933–34	41·4	10·6
Budapest . . .	1932	54·4	43·9
Czechoslovakia . .	1927–28	29·3	7·3
Roumania . .	1934–35	20·6	5·0
Latvia . . .	1935–36	16·0	8·5
Poland . . .	1934–35	6·6	3·1
Lodz . . .	1927–28	18·5	12·7

the admission of Jews to the ordinary secondary schools, and decreed the gradual reduction of the number of Jewish pupils already attending these schools to 1·5 per cent of the total. The result was a fall in the number of Jewish pupils at the secondary schools from 15,105 in 1932 to 7776 in May 1934. In November 1938 the attendance of Jewish children at the public secondary and elementary schools was entirely prohibited. In Vienna, where in 1934 the Jewish pupils at secondary schools were 20·1 per cent of the total (the Jews formed 9·3 per cent of the population), similar measures were adopted in 1938.

4. Strong Jewish attendance at the Universities

Attendance at a non-Jewish school, and especially a secondary school, is likely to alienate a Jewish child from the Jewish tradition and introduce him to another culture; and this applies still more to a University education. East European Jews take it for granted that every "doctor" is estranged from Jewish tradition. In the countries of Emancipation the attendance of Jews at the Universities was very strong before the Great War. It has grown still stronger since the removal of the past restrictions on attendance in Russia. In 1914 there were in Russia only

5537 Jewish students at the high schools; in 1927 the number of Jewish students in the territories formerly belonging to Tsarist Russia had grown to some 33,000; of these, 23,699 were in Soviet Russia. In 1935 the number of Jewish students in Soviet Russia alone reached 61,384, and in 1937, 82,300. The number of students per 1000 inhabitants in Russia in 1935 was:

Among the Jews	20·4
„ Great Russians . . .	2·8
„ White Russians . . .	2·4
„ Ukrainians	2·0

Not only in Soviet Russia but in other countries the percentage of Jews at the high schools is much higher than among the non-Jews, as may be seen from Table XVIII. Their percentage of students exceeds their percentage among the population by 1·9 (in Hungary) to 9 times (in Yugoslavia). Only in Poland, where the number of Jewish students has steadily been reduced, was equilibrium reached between the two percentages.

In the United States, where in 1918–19 the number of Jews at the Universities was estimated at 15,000, it was found in 1937 by Dr. Lee J. Levinger, of New York, as the result of an investigation covering 1319 colleges and Universities (94 per cent of the total), to be 105,000, or 9·1 per cent of the total number of students.[1] It was thus two and a half times the Jewish proportion of the population. The Jewish students in the United States concentrate especially in the great Universities — 90 per cent of them are found in 113 colleges and Universities, while in the smaller colleges and Universities there are very few, and in 477 none at all. In contrast to Europe, where the proportion of women students is higher among the Jews than among the Christians (in Germany in 1929–30 it was 28·9 per cent among the Jews and 15·9 per cent among the

[1] This figure includes the Jewish students in Canada.

TABLE XVIII

Attendance of Jews at Universities and High Schools of the University Type

Country or City	Type of University or College	Period	Number of Jewish Students		The Percentage of Jewish Students exceeds the Percentage of Jews in the Population—
			Absolute No.	Percentage of All Students	
Germany * .	Universities	Winter session 1929–30	2,970	3·4	3·7 times
,, .	Technical High Schools	,,	264	1·3	1·4 ,,
,, .	Other High Schools	,,	73	1·6	1·8 ,,
	Together .	Winter session 1929–30	3,307	2·9	3·2 times
Czechoslovakia	Universities	Winter session 1927–28	2,414	14·5	6·0 times
		1935–36	2,421	11·9	5·0 ,,
,,	Technical High Schools	1927–28	1,314	12·2	5·7 ,,
		1935–36	467	6·2	2·6 ,,
,,	Other High Schools	1927–28	50	2·2	0·9 ,,
		1935–36	27	1·8	0·8 ,,
	Together .	1927–28	3,778	12·8	5·2 times
	,, .	1935–36	2,915	9·9	4·1 ,,
Hungary .	All Universities and High Schools	Winter session 1932–33	1,965	12·0	2·3 times
		1934–35	1,465	9·7	1·9 ,,
Poland . .	All Universities and High Schools	1929–30	8,711	19·3	2·0 ,,
		1931–32	8,962	18·0	1·8 ,,
		1932–33	9,594	18·7	1·9 ,,
		1933–34	8,439	17·0	1·7 ,,
		1935–36	6,213	13·2	1·4 ,,
		1937–38	4,797	9·9	1·0 ,,
Yugoslavia .	All Universities and High Schools	1932–33	704	4·8	9·6 ,,
		1934–35	716	7·5	9·0 ,,
Roumania .	Universities	1934–35	5,165	12·5	3·0 ,,
Austria . .	Universities	1936	1,688	12·0	4·3 ,,
,, . .	Technical High Schools	,,	203	9·1	3·2 ,,
,, . .	Other High Schools	,,	131	9·5	3·4 ,,
	Together .	1936	2,022	11·4	4·1 times
Soviet Russia	All Universities and High Schools	1926–27	23,699	15·4	5·9 times
		1935	61,384	13·3	7·0 ,,
		1937	82,300		
Latvia . .	Universities	1934–35	636	7·9	1·6 ,,
Lithuania .	University	1926	756	31·4	4·1 ,,
U.S.A. . .	Universities	1937	105,000	9·1	2·6 ,,

Christians; in Poland in 1928–29 it was 37·9 per cent among the Jews and 25·6 per cent among the Christians), in the United States the proportion of women students is smaller among the Jews. It is mainly young Jewish men that carry through their studies at the cost of the greatest sacrifices.

The Jews prefer the Faculties of Medicine and Law. Their percentage in these Faculties is higher than in those of the Natural Sciences and Engineering. At the Universities (without the High Schools) the Jews formed—

Country	Year	In the Medical Faculty		In the Legal Faculty	
		Among All Jewish Students	Among All Students of the Faculty	Among All Jewish Students	Among All Students of the Faculty
		Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Germany .	1929–30*	28·5	5·7	34·6	4·9
Vienna . .	1932–33*	49·6	31·9	22·3	16·9
Hungary .	1933	23·1	18·3	41·9	13·3
„ .	1934–35	21·7	15·8	35·8	9·7
Poland . .	1931–32†	10·1	18·6	50·6	26·0
„ . .	1934–35†	9·4	15·8	32·9	16·1
„ . .	1935–36†	..	13·8	..	12·5
Latvia . .	1933–34†	5·5	6·9	34·4	9·8
„ . .	1934–35†	6·1	6·7	29·4	7·7
Roumania .	1933–34†	12·4	25·3	43·5	16·3
„ .	1934–35†	14·8	26·6	38·0	13·2
Yugoslavia .	1932–33	26·3	11·6	38·2	4·4

* The figures for the Jewish students in Germany refer only to Jews of German citizenship; the figures for Vienna include a large but unknown number of non-Austrian Jews.
† The low percentages are due to the frequent deliberate exclusion of Jews.

After medicine and law the Jews prefer dentistry, political economy, philology, and chemistry; scarcely any are to be found in mining, geology, mineralogy, shipbuilding, or forestry. Their choice of subject depends only to a small extent on personal inclination. They have little or no prospect of employment in the public service or in important private enterprises; they must, therefore, turn to the Faculties in which they can qualify for independent work. Soviet Russia forms an exception; there are none of these restrictions, with the result that the Jews are much

more evenly distributed among the various Faculties; medicine is chosen relatively less, and the technical Faculties more. Of the total of 82,300 Jewish students in 1937, no fewer than 30,900, or 37·5 per cent, were attending the technical Faculties. In 1935, of every 100 students of each nationality in Soviet Russia the percentage in the Faculties here shown was:

	In the Industrial-Technical Faculty	In the Agricultural Faculty	In Social and Legal Science	In Education and Art	In Medicine
Jews . .	54·1	5·1	8·0	17·5	15·3
Great Russians	46·6	13·2	6·4	20·2	13·6
Ukrainians .	37·7	16·9	4·3	27·8	13·3
White Russians	36·9	16·3	8·4	27·8	10·6

In the United States the Jews show a preference for dental and pharmacological studies as well as medicine and law. The number of Jewish students in 1937, and their percentage of all students of the same subject, was:

	Number	Percentage
Dentistry . . .	1975	26·4
Law	7757	25·1
Pharmacy . . .	1542	24·0
Medicine . . .	4150	16·1

Jewish students prefer dentistry and pharmacy because the period of study is relatively short, a matter of importance to the sons of poor parents. Pharmacy is also closely connected with trade.

The strong attendance of the Jews at the Universities is the result of a long-standing tradition that every Jewish family should have at least one student son. In earlier times this applied to the study of the Hebrew literature; now the tradition has been transferred to University education. Another contributory element is of course the fact that University education is the gateway to the professions,

which not only give social position but, at all events until recently, were among the more remunerative occupations. In recent years the Christians have turned much more to the professions and, in consequence of the spread of anti-Semitism, have successfully competed with the Jews; the prospect for the latter of gaining an adequate existence in the professions has thus greatly diminished in almost every country. Everywhere among them there is now a great academic proletariat.

Owing to the recognition of the changing times, and to the growing difficulty of obtaining admission to the Universities in the countries of Eastern Europe, in recent years there has for the first time been a fall in the number and percentage of Jewish students —

In Poland	from 9694, or 18·7	per cent	of all	students	in 1932–33
	to 6213, or 13·2	,,	,,	,,	1935–36
	and 4791, or 9·9	,,	,,	,,	1937–38
In Latvia	from 744, or 8·7	,,	,,	,,	1930–31
	to 636, or 7·9	,,	,,	,,	1934–35
In Hungary	from 1965, or 12·0	,,	,,	,,	1932–33
	to 1465, or 9·7	,,	,,	,,	1934–35
In Roumania	from 14·1	,,	,,	,,	1933–34
	to 12·5	,,	,,	,,	1934–35
In Czechoslovakia	from 3778, or 12·8	,,	,,	,,	1927–28
	to 2915, or 9·9	,,	,,	,,	1935–36

It cannot be said in these cases how far the decrease is offset by the attendance of Jews at foreign Universities because they cannot obtain admission to those of Eastern Europe. There is a large number of foreign Jewish students in the countries of Western and Central Europe. Israel Cohen[1] estimates the number of Polish Jews studying abroad at 10,000. There are also many Jews from other countries of Eastern Europe who study abroad.

The foreign Universities principally attended were those of Berlin (until 1933), Vienna (until 1938), Prague,

[1] "The Jews in Poland", in *Contemporary Review*, December 1936.

Paris, Strasbourg, Brussels, London, Zurich, and Geneva. Until recently there was no obstacle to the recognition of the diplomas of these Universities in Eastern Europe. Lately, however, many States have begun to require the holders of these diplomas to sit for a special "nostrification" examination, making it a matter of uncertainty for the graduates whether they will secure admission to the professions. In Poland in 1934–35, 6266 students gained diplomas at the Universities; of these, 1174, or 18·7 per cent, were Jews. Of the 110 holders of foreign diplomas "nostrified" in Poland, 69 were Jews (62 per cent); 59 of the diplomas were medical, and of these 52 (88·1 per cent) were held by Jews. In the German Universities since 1933 "non-Aryans" have in theory been admitted up to 1·5 per cent of the total number of students, but in practice no Jews have been admitted, so that in many Universities which in the past were attended by large numbers of Jewish students not one is now to be found. In 1938 a percentage was instituted for Jews in the Universities of Hungary and Italy. The Italian Universities used gladly to admit Jewish students from abroad; they are now entirely closed to foreign Jews.

In 1900 there were scarcely more than 30,000 Jewish students in the world; there were three students to every 1000 Jews. Today the number is little short of a quarter of a million, and the proportion of students is 15 per 1000 Jews — a proportion which is not even approached by any other nation in the world. (In Germany in 1929–30 there were about two students to every 1000 Christians.)

Very few of the Jews who acquire a University education are able to reconcile their new-won knowledge with the Jewish tradition and faith. Not only do they themselves abandon the Jewish tradition, but their example affects the whole of the Jewish upper class.

Apart from the strengthening of assimilative tendencies,

the Jewish pursuit of college studies brings with it another danger — it is one of the principal inflammatory influences on anti-Semitism. In no other economic field is there such sensitiveness to the competition of the Jews, and in none is it so energetically combated, as in the higher official posts and the professions, to which the Universities are the gateway. This reaction is especially strong in countries such as Poland. Here the privileged aristocracy was little inclined for study in the past, but is now turning to it in large numbers for economic reasons; moreover, as a result of better schooling of the children of the middle classes and the farmers, there are many more candidates for the Universities than in the past. These students and their families regard not only the civil service but the professions as their own domain, and regard the Jews here more than in any other career (except, perhaps, that of the army officer) as interlopers. The result is a growing opposition to the unrestricted admission of Jews to the Universities, and a growing restriction of their activities in the professions.

CHAPTER XV

WEAKENING OF THE JEWISH SENSE OF COMMUNITY

1. Cultural change

The adoption of a new tongue is the first stage in the transition to a new culture. Men's speech has a controlling effect on their circle of intercourse and their reading. In the building of a language the intellectual achievements of many generations are crystallized. The language is the fixed framework within which a child must fit his ideas when he tries to give expression to them. The learning of its language thus determines the course of the intellectual development of the new generation. A language also forms a bond for all who speak it. Without a common language there can be no community of culture, and without a common culture a nation cannot endure.

For this reason the replacement of Yiddish (and Spaniole) by the languages of the countries of domicile has a profound effect on Jewish culture. The adoption of the language of the country and of modern secular education interrupts the age-long continuity of the Jewish tradition. Jewish culture, based on the firm faith in the omnipotence of God and on the Jews' duty of worshipping Him, was one-sided but self-contained, and it gave the Jews a firm support. The new education tends to destroy this faith. The new language brings a cleavage between children and parents, not only in the countries of immigration but in Eastern Europe. Children brought up in the

ordinary schools begin to avoid using Yiddish, the only language their parents know, because it seems to them to bear the stamp of a lower civilization.

2. Divisions within Jewry

The multiplicity of languages, with the resulting differences of cultural environment, is the main cause of the weakening of the Jewish sense of community, but not the only one. The sense of a common destiny, which bound the Jews together in earlier times, has been weakened, and has only been revived by the assaults on Jewry from Nazi anti-Semitism. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, half of the Jews were concentrated in Tsarist Russia. Any turn for the better or worse in the Government policy in regard to Jews affected them all alike, and reminded them once more of their common origin and fate. Today they are spread over many more countries, and their situation depends much less on the policy of any particular Government. The sense of community with the Jews of other countries is thus weakened. Jews are as ready as ever to open their purses when a cry for help comes from Jews in other countries, but this is but a faint reflection of the solidarity of earlier times.

Their solidarity has also suffered within each country. In the past their legal and economic insecurity hindered the transmission of a fortune undiminished from father to son; the rich Jew of one day might be a poor man on the morrow. At the present day, especially in the countries of immigration, there is a gulf between the cultured and prosperous Jews who have long been settled in a country and the new immigrants, mostly poor and uneducated. Both in Poland and in the United States there are signs of incipient class cleavage. Until well into the nineteenth century the whole of the Jews had the objective and

outlook of the middle class: they were occupied in making their way to independence and prosperity, and the prospects were much the same for all. Today the percentage of wage and salary earners among the Jews is far larger than that of the Jews in an independent position, and this has increased the divergences of interest. The Jewish working masses have followed the example of the Christian workers in uniting in proletarian class organizations, and carry on a struggle against their employers as a class even though, as in Poland and America, the employers are mainly Jewish. A much larger proportion of the Jewish workers, it is true, pass out of the working class into that of employers or salaried employees, so that their class consciousness does not grow as strong as among the working-class Christians, who remain workers all their lives and even generation after generation.

An example of the extent of the party divisions among the Jews was given by the municipal elections in Poland in 1934, at which 374,398 Jews voted, forming 27·6 per cent of the electorate. They elected 1603 councillors, of whom [1]

43·0	per cent	belonged to	the Zionist group
18·0	,,	,,	Agudat Yisrael (orthodox Jews)
20·6	,,	,,	other traditional middle class groups
8·2	,,	,,	assimilated groups, and
10·2	,,	,,	Socialist groups

In the Middle Ages, and in some countries until the nineteenth century, the Jews had their own judicature and system of law. This provided a bond between them. All that is left of these today is the competence of the rabbinical courts in some of the Oriental countries, such as Spanish Morocco, in matters of personal status (marriage law, divorce, inheritance). In all other matters the rabbinical courts have lost all jurisdiction, and the Jews are subject to the same law as the Christians.

[1] Ringelblum, in the Yiddish monthly review *Dos wirtshaftliche Leben*, Warsaw, November 1934.

3. The de-Judaizing of the Jews in Russia

An especially grave loss to Jewry is the progressive segregation of the Jews in Soviet Russia from the general body of Judaism. Before the Great War the Jews in Russia formed the backbone of Judaism. The Jewish religion and Jewish national feeling were full of vitality among them, and the emigrants from Russian Jewry since 1880 brought fresh life to the Jewish religious and social system in the countries to which they went.

This source of strength has now dried up. There are still some 4,500,000 Jews in the territories of Eastern Europe that won independence after the Great War (Poland, including Galicia; Roumania; the Baltic States), and these communities have kept in contact to this day with those of other countries, but the 3,180,000 Jews who have remained in Soviet Russia (3,050,000 in Europe and 130,000 in Asia) are kept secluded from any sort of communication with the outer world. The Russian Government permits neither the immigration of Jews into Russia nor, with very few exceptions, the emigration of Jews to other countries. The censorship restricts the transmission of news by the press or in letters, so that the Jews in Russia are informed very incompletely and tendenciously of what happens in other countries; conversely, the Jews of other countries learn little about those of Russia.

The outstanding changes in Jewish life in Soviet Russia are:

(1) The complete establishment of their equality before the law since 1917, and Government opposition to every form of anti-Semitism.

(2) The change of occupation enforced by the economic policy of the Government. The Government has made it impossible for the Jews to gain a living from independent trading; in the handicrafts it has converted them from

independent workers into members of artisans' co-operatives; it has contributed to their entry on a small scale into agriculture and in very large numbers into the professions and into official positions, all of which were virtually closed to them before the Great War. Since the introduction of the first Five-Year Plan in 1929, it has considerably increased their number among the factory workers. This means a fundamental revolution in the economic structure of the Jews in Russia.

(3) The break-away from the Jewish religion. This has been made easier for the Jews by the fact that in Soviet Russia all religion is combated by the Government as " opium for the people ", and here the Jews march alongside the Christians, the great bulk of whom have also cut themselves off from the Church more or less completely. The Jewish youth, under the influence of the anti-religious attitude of the Government and of the teachers, refuse to attend the synagogues; they have lost interest in the Jewish religion and tradition, and regard them almost with hostility, as survivals of the bourgeois epoch. Such of the synagogues as still exist are attended almost exclusively by old people.

(4) The progressive replacement of Yiddish, which until the twentieth century was almost the exclusive language of the Jews in Russia, and their strongest national bulwark, by Russian or Ukrainian. The great majority of the generation now growing up in Central Russia are taught in the Russian language in the ordinary schools, and there is little doubt that the use of Yiddish is rapidly diminishing among them and, if the circumstances remain unaltered, will entirely die out in the coming generation.

The Yevsektsia, the Government department for Jewish affairs, was primarily an instrument for the suppression of anti-Soviet movements among the Jews and for gaining Jewish support for the régime; but it took pride in main-

taining the Jews as a nationality by setting up Yiddish schools and by founding cultural institutions. The Yevsektsia was abolished in 1930, and now there are virtually no Yiddish schools in Central Russia. They still exist in the Ukraine and White Russia, and in 1926 they were attended by about one-third of the Jewish children, but they are on the downward grade. The percentage of Jewish children attending non-Jewish schools is growing from year to year.

The Russian Government has granted cultural autonomy to the Jews as to all other nationalities. But the Jews cannot make the same use of these rights; they live in relatively scattered communities, and are much more dependent for purposes of trade and industry on learning a language that is not their own, than the Christians. This strengthens the tendency to assimilation; and so does the fact that the Government controls cultural life, and impresses uniformity on it, through schools, press, wireless, the theatre, and propaganda.

(5) The extensive migration from the former Pale of Settlement (White Russia and the Ukraine) to Central Russia since the War. This has taken the Jews from regions in which they had for centuries been organized in Jewish communities, and had developed a cultural life of their own, into vast regions new to them, with no existing communities to maintain their cultural cohesion. The Jews who enter Central Russia from White Russia and the Ukraine become "Russified" in a remarkably short time. The change, which is recorded as one not of religion but of nationality, and the mixed marriages in Central Russia in the course of the last twenty years, have already reached the level which it took nearly a century to attain in Germany.

The fate of the Jews in Soviet Russia shows that when a Government combats their religion, grants them

equality of rights, and facilitates their admission to the nationality of the State and to all occupations, and when the economic conditions are such that this admission seems advantageous to them, they succumb to the forces of assimilation. Almost within a generation Russian Jewry has fundamentally changed its tradition and its economic structure. This process has every prospect of intensification in the second generation, and of ending in the complete disappearance of Russian Jewry as a religious or national community.

An element of danger in the relations between Jews and non-Jews in Russia, and a possible hindrance to assimilation, seems to lie in the growing percentage of Jews among the members of the professions and the official class. Here material for conflict may develop and may once more inflame the old hatred of the Jews, which to all appearance had vanished but might still exist beneath the surface.

4. Secessions from Judaism

The adoption by the Jews of the language and culture of the Christian environment involves social intercourse, resulting in mixed marriages (see Chapter VI), baptisms, and secessions from Judaism.

Secessions occurred even in ancient times. In Alexandria, for instance, there were Jews who abandoned their faith and worshipped the gods of the Greeks and Romans, in order to improve their social position. Far larger was the number of conversions after the founding of Christianity. The new religion seemed at first to be simply that of a Jewish sect, and secured most of its early adherents from among the Jews. During the first centuries of the Christian era the division between Jews and Christians was not absolute, so that conversions involved no difficulty. Only when Christianity became the State religion of the Roman

Empire and the Church became consolidated was a barrier erected between Jews and Christians which made voluntary conversions rare. After the Crusades, when the Church attained the zenith of its power, there were many conversions of Jews under duress, as the only alternative to exile or death. In Spain in the fifteenth century tens of thousands of Jews went over to Christianity under these conditions. In the countries of Islam, from the tenth to the fourteenth century, the most flourishing period of Arabic culture, voluntary conversions to Islam were not infrequent. From the fifteenth century onward the segregation of the Jews also from their Mohammedan environment was rigid, and here too, voluntary conversions became very rare. Only in the New World, especially in South America, did the small groups of Jews who migrated thither adopt Christianity, owing to their separation from the general body of Jewry.

It is difficult to estimate the total losses to Judaism through baptisms down to the end of the eighteenth century. But they continued with more or less frequency and never entirely ceased, so that there can be no doubt that they ran into millions. Assuming no more than one secession a year among every thousand Jews, and taking the average number of Jews at two millions, we get a total of 3,600,000 secessions. But in some periods, as in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Spain and Portugal, there were mass conversions of tens or even hundreds of thousands of Jews; the total number may thus have been considerably larger.

When the French Revolution and the incipient emancipation of the Jews seemed to be opening up a new era of equality for all men, many both among Christians and Jews felt that the time had come for the Jews to discard their peculiarities, including their religion. In Berlin, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a centre

of the "Enlightenment" movement, baptism became very frequent among the educated Jews. About the middle of the century this tendency diminished, since under the influence of liberal ideas and religious tolerance professing Jews were no longer socially ostracized. Baptisms reached their lowest point in 1876, when in all Prussia only 40 Jews adopted Protestantism. Since then they have become more frequent again, possibly as a result of the reviving anti-Semitism and the preference shown to baptized Jews over unconverted ones in the filling of official posts. According to an estimate by the missionary De la Roi,[1] in the nineteenth century, 205,000 Jews adopted Christianity:

85,000 in Russia	23,000 in Germany
45,000 „ Austria-Hungary	13,000 „ North America
29,000 „ Great Britain	10,000 „ other countries

Jews seceding from the Jewish community without joining any other, and children of mixed marriages, are not included in these figures.

In the twentieth century the number of baptisms has increased everywhere. In Hungary, which has the most exact statistics of any country on the subject, the average number of Jews baptized each year was as shown in Table XIX.

The enormous increase in conversions from Judaism in 1919 was due to the White Terror then raging in Hungary; many Jews hoped to escape its persecutions by baptism. The relatively high number of conversions to Judaism between 1921 and 1925 was due to the return to Judaism of some of the Jews baptized in 1919. Those who remained outside Judaism did not long enjoy the expected advantages, for the Hungarian law of 1938, which instituted a quota for the participation of Jews in certain occupations,

[1] "Judentaufen im 19. Jahrhundert", in the review *Nataniel*, Nos. 3 and 4, Berlin, 1899.

TABLE XIX

CONVERSIONS FROM AND INTO JUDAISM IN HUNGARY

Period	Average Annual Number of Conversions — From Judaism	Average Annual Number of Conversions — To Judaism	Annual Loss to Judaism
1896–1900	261	..	..
1901–5	420	..	..
1906–7	365	..	..
1919	7146	137	7009
1920	1925	168	1757
1921–25	526	307	219
1928–29	520	237	283
1932–34	908	161	747
1935	585 M. / 676 F. } 1261	60 M. / 137 F. } 197	1064

placed those Jews who had seceded from Judaism since 1919, and their children, on the same footing as other Jews.[1]

In all, Hungarian Jewry lost 14,962 adherents between 1919 and 1935. (The Jewish population of Hungary amounted to about 450,000 in 1935.) This takes no account of the small number of secessions which were not followed by the adoption of a creed, and of conversions of those without a creed: during 1921–35 there were 116 secessions of this type from Judaism and 59 accessions to Judaism.

In Germany there are no complete statistics on the subject. The yearly number of Jews who adopted Protestantism averaged, according to the Church figures:

412 from 1880 to 1910
415 ,, 1911 ,, 1921, and
302 ,, 1922 ,, 1925

The figure for 1932 was 241, and that for 1933 was 993. The sharp rise in 1933 was due to the hope of some Jews of improving their position in face of Nazi hostility. The

[1] The baptisms of Jews seem, however, to have continued to be numerous, for at the end of 1938 the Cardinal Primate of Hungary forbade baptisms of Jews before the expiry of a probation period of three months, because their motive was often not religious but material.

laws issued, however, since the Nazi seizure of power made no distinction between Jews who had abandoned their religion and those who had adhered to it.

These figures for Germany show only the conversions to Protestantism, and the total secessions from Judaism were much more numerous. Conversions to Roman Catholicism were few, but a large number did not adopt any other religion when they abandoned Judaism. Especially after the Great War many Jews in Germany and Austria seceded without joining any religious community; many Christians had done the same, thus removing from undenominationalism the stigma of eccentricity or, in the case of ex-Jews, of disguised Judaism. In 1933 the number of persons in Germany who belonged to no religious denomination was about 2,600,000, or 4 per cent of the population. The Jews preferred this step to the adoption of Christianity because it was less severely disapproved of by the Jewish community and did not involve any declaration of belief. The dislike of any formal change of religion also led many Jewish parents to retain their religion, but to have their children baptized in infancy.

The best conditions for baptism or for secession from Judaism, as for mixed marriages, are found in the large cities, where the economic and professional differences between Jews and Christians are smallest, and where intellectual life is dominated by rationalism. In the cities, too, it is much easier for an individual to keep his withdrawal secret and escape the control of the Jewish community.

In Prussia, under a law of 1876, it was possible for a Jew to secede from the local Jewish community and yet be recorded as a Jew by religion. This procedure was sometimes adopted in order to evade liability for dues to the Jewish community. Recently the legal position was altered; in 1938 a new law took away from the Jewish

communities their public character and therewith their right to tax the Jews. They are now only private associations and dependent on the goodwill of their members for their income.

Since 1868 a law has been in force in Austria, enabling any person over 14 years of age to leave his religious community; children under 7 years automatically followed their father in any change, while between 7 and 14 no change was possible. In Vienna the average annual number of persons who seceded from Judaism was —

In 1868–70	20 = 0·4	per	1000	Jews,
„ 1881–90	241 = 2·0	„	„	
„ 1901–05	580 = 3·6	„	„	
„ 1921–24	978 = 4·9	„	„	
„ 1927–30	846 = 4·2	„	„	
„ 1931–35	716 = 3·1	„	„	and
„ 1936	647 = 3·8	„	„	

The movement away from religion among the Christians in Vienna slowed down after 1927, and the Jewish secessions did the same. But while a large number of Christians returned to Christianity after 1934 (51,223 in 1934 alone), there was no similar movement among the Jews. The number of Christians who adopted Judaism amounted in Vienna in the whole period from 1868 to 1936 to 8046; most of these cases were due to a coming marriage with a Jewish partner. If this figure is subtracted from the secessions from Judaism, the period 1868–1936 shows a net loss to Judaism of 25,562 persons.

In Czechoslovakia, especially in Bohemia and Moravia, there has recently been a considerable increase in baptisms, connected since 1938 with the German penetration of the country. In Prague alone (but Prague is the centre of the movement for secession) there were 741 secessions in the four years 1934–37 (of these, 580 joined no new denomination), a yearly average of 185 (145). The figure rose for

the first six months of 1938 to 389 (236),[1] and for the rest of the year to more than 2000. Similarly in Holland, where secessions were formerly very scarce, they have increased considerably since the Great War. In 1930 in Amsterdam 445 Jews forsook Judaism without joining any other religion. There were a few conversions to Christianity. The increase in secessions was paralleled by an increase in the mixed marriages.

Few figures exist for conversions of Jews in Eastern Europe. They are certainly much less frequent than in Central and Western Europe, and usually proceed from a desire to facilitate the entry of a child into a State school or to secure a candidate an appointment in the public service. In some cities, particularly in Warsaw, there has been an increase in baptisms in recent years.

There are no statistical data of changes of religion in France and England. Bonsirven [2] states that, in the period from 1931 to 1934, 245 conversions of Jews to Catholicism were registered in the office of the Archbishop of Paris, and that in England in 1927 there were 400 baptized Jews among the Protestant clergy.

In the United States, formal transfers from Judaism to Christianity are comparatively rare. It happens much more frequently that Jews attach themselves to one Christian sect or another without any formality, and attend its services. Bonsirven [3] estimates the number of formally baptized Jews in the United States at 20,000. In Canada at the census of 1931 there were 156,726 Jews by origin ("Hebrews") and 155,614 Jews by religion ("Jews"). The difference (1112) is accounted for by secessions.

In general (with the exception of Vienna) the number of conversions to Christianity is not so large as to endanger the existence of Judaism. The Nazi policy of placing con-

[1] According to Bruno Blau, *Die Juden der Tschechoslovakei* (unpublished).
[2] *Juifs et Chrétiens* (Paris, 1936), p. 28. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 28.

verted Jews on the same footing with those who have remained true to their religion may be expected to retard or even end the movement toward conversion in Germany and Austria. In other countries the extent of the movement will depend on whether religion increases or decreases in importance both with Jews and with Christians, and on whether access to Christian society is rendered easier by baptism. Still more important than these factors in determining the adherence of Jews to their religion is the question whether the Jewish community will succeed in producing new influences from its midst which will strengthen Jewish solidarity and counteract the present centrifugal tendencies. If this does not happen, the movement toward conversion may grow, wherever it presents social advantages, as rapidly as the number of mixed marriages, and may join with these in undermining the existence of Judaism.

There is, in general, a close interrelation between mixed marriages and baptisms. Where the former become more frequent, the latter also increase, since both are products of the same cause, the weakening of Jewish solidarity. But mixed marriages are most frequent where the Jews enjoy social equality and free intercourse with non-Jews; baptisms where they hope by that means to escape from a certain social ostracism. Thus mixed marriages were frequent in Australia, in South America, and, up to 1938, in Italy, but baptisms were most frequent in Budapest and Vienna.

The efforts on the part of the Christian Church, continued through more than a thousand years, to win over the Jews have at all times had a degree of success, greatest when compulsion was added to the arguments of the clergy, as, for instance, in Spain in the fifteenth century. In the nineteenth century special missionary societies were founded for the conversion of the Jews, the greatest being the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews,

founded in London in 1809. These societies have missions in Europe and the Oriental countries, and maintain schools and a medical service in support of their missionary activity. According to Bonsirven,[1] the Protestant missionary societies alone expend £225,000 annually. It is stated that in the course of the nineteenth century 7000 Jews in all were converted to Christianity by the missionary societies. This result appears very slight when compared with the sums expended.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 175.

PART IV

JUDAISM IN THE DIASPORA

CHAPTER XVI

JUDAISM IN THE DIASPORA

1. The riddle of the survival of the Jews

Since the destruction of the Jewish State the Jews have carried on a desperate fight for existence, not with weapons or physical force, but by tenacious passive resistance to oppression. In this resistance they were strengthened by the hope that the coming of the Messiah and the rebuilding of Zion were at hand, by the heavy but gladly borne armour of a religious ritual, and by belief in their mission as the heralds of the one God.

The legend of the wandering Jew, Ahasuerus, who cannot die but is doomed under a curse to pass unrestingly from country to country, is the expression of the astonishment of the medieval Christians at the continued maintenance by the Jews of their existence as a nation, in spite of persecution and of their lack of a country of their own. Down to our own times, both believing Christians and Jews have seen the hand of God in this.

The maintenance of the Jewish nation has not been without great losses in numbers. At the outset of the Christian era, there were 5 million Jews (see Chapter II), constituting 6·8 per cent of the white race. A similar percentage of the present 900 millions of whites would have given them more than 60 millions, instead of the $16\frac{3}{4}$ millions which the Jews number today. The difference is due to the loss of many adherents through cruel persecutions

and through conversions, and to the heavy mortality in the towns. Thus, statistically the Jews have not kept pace in their natural increase with the other white nations. But they are unique in all the history of the peoples of the white race in their subsistence as a nation, and their unbroken connexion with their ancient culture, in spite of two thousand years of dispersion.

Four factors combined to bring this about. Before the Christian era, and especially in the early centuries of that era, the danger of absorption was diminished by the social barrier which the religion of the Jews placed between them and others, with the ban on *connubium*. Secondly, the higher culture of the East, brought with them in their migrations, removed any incentive to abandon their customs for those of their new countries. Thirdly, they were merchants by calling in many countries in which the Christians had not yet turned to trade, and this occupational peculiarity reinforced their alien character.[1] Fourthly, they did not distribute themselves evenly over the countries into which they came, but concentrated in the towns (and particularly in towns which were of importance as trade centres) in Jewish communities, and were thus able to preserve their own cultural life. The Jewish community was a spiritual home for them, a substitute for the real homeland which they had lost.

Only where these four factors operated did the Jews maintain their national and cultural identity; where any one of them was not present the bond between the Jews was gradually loosened. At the time when Arab culture was at its zenith the Jews lost heavily in numbers because their civilization was in no way superior to that of the Arabs. Similarly, in the nineteenth century, in the highly

[1] Other examples of immigrant groups bringing their special trades with them and retaining them for centuries are the gypsies, who worked in Europe as coppersmiths, and the Arabs and Chinese in Madagascar, who control trade.

civilized European and overseas countries, many of the Jews went over to Christianity as the gateway to modern civilization, the superiority of which they recognized.

Their losses through change of religion would have been even greater but for the fact that in the whole history of their exile they never settled exclusively in countries with a higher civilization than their own and with a non-Jewish trading class. In some countries they diminished in number or died out, but in others they took fresh root, finding there the conditions necessary for their survival. Their continued existence in Europe to the present day is due primarily to the fact that in the Middle Ages, after they had been driven out of the rising countries of Western and Central Europe, they found their way to Poland, an economically backward country, where nearly all the trade fell into their hands. There they were fulfilling a special economic function, and were able to withstand the forces of assimilation.

In our day it has become much more difficult for the Jews to preserve their national identity because there are few relatively backward countries, without a native trading class, to which they can turn. The countries into which they have poured during the last hundred years, especially the United States, have been highly civilized and economically advanced countries, able to absorb a great number of Jews because of their enormous economic progress, which had enabled their population to be multiplied many times over. But experience has shown that in countries of this type it is extraordinarily difficult for the Jews to maintain themselves as a separate group. They do not attempt to adhere to the customs and religious ritual of their forefathers, but adapt themselves quickly to their surroundings. This adaptation takes place most easily at a time of economic prosperity, when the Jew is not

looked upon as a competitor because there is employment for all. Thus, paradoxically, the countries most favourable to the advancement of the individual Jew are least favourable to the survival of the Jewish nation.

2. Religious reforms

The Jewish religion brought into the world three thousand years ago the faith in a single all-powerful God, creator of the world, and the belief in retributive justice, and it has steadily inculcated these beliefs throughout the ages. The great Jewish prophets of the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C. created the Jewish ethical system, which has remained to this day in theory (though very incompletely in practice) the ethical system of Christianity. The belief in resurrection and in the immortality of the soul were not added until the period of the exile in Babylonia. Most of the countless commandments and prohibitions, which extend their sway over the minutiae of everyday existence, first arose at the time of the writing of the Talmud in Babylon (first to fifth century A.D.), when the Jewish State was already destroyed and a means was sought of preserving the Jews from the absorptive influences of their surroundings in the countries in which they were scattered. It would have been difficult for the Jews to hold out, in days of stress, against the pagan religions of the Greeks and Romans and later against Judaism's own offshoots, the Christian and Mohammedan religions, if the scholars of the Talmud, recognizing this danger, had not made of their religion a rampart for the protection of the Jews as a nation. By their interpretation of the word of God as recorded in the Bible, they spread over the Jews a network of commandments and prohibitions, which kept ever before them, in their daily life, their close union with God, while at the same time these precepts distinguished

the Jews from all other peoples, and kept them from intermarriage, and, by means of the food laws, from social intercourse, with other peoples.

The Jewish religion has exercised an enormous influence on world history through Christianity and Islam, which grew out of it. The Old Testament has been for the past two thousand years by far the most widely read book ("The Book") that humanity possesses. The literature and art of the Renaissance were founded at least as much on that groundwork as on the culture of Greece. The position of the Bible in England from the Middle Ages to the most recent times, and the extent of its influence on the whole life of the country, are well known.[1]

With the growth of modern science there has been a great increase in the number of those who deny the divine omnipotence and Providence and regard man as an integral part of nature, which works itself out in accordance with eternal and immutable laws. The Jews were much influenced by this development when emancipation brought them into close contact with their Christian surroundings. The stronger religious indifference or unbelief is among their neighbours, and the more freely the Jews mix with them, the greater is the percentage among the Jews of those who have renounced their faith in the Jewish religion in its Talmudic form and have abandoned its rites. Only in parts of Eastern Europe do the majority of the Jews still hold firmly to the ceremonial law. In all other countries the tendency is in the direction of a slackening or a severance of the religious ties.

[1] The esteem in which even modern scientists hold the Jewish religious achievement is shown by a letter written by T. H. Huxley to Romanes in 1892: "I have a great respect for the Nazarenism of Jesus — very little for later 'Christianity'. But the only religion that appeals to me is prophetic Judaism. Add to it something from the best Stoics and something from Spinoza and something from Goethe, and there is a religion for men" (Julian Huxley, *Essays in Popular Science*, London, 1926, p. 127).

An external sign of this is seen in the matter of the observance of the Sabbath. In the small Polish towns all Jewish shops are still closed on the Sabbath. In the larger towns, such as Cracow and Warsaw, they close only in the Jewish quarter. In Central and Western Europe closing is exceptional.

Three types may be distinguished in the Jewish religion of today. The first is Orthodox Judaism, with its strict observance of the prescriptions of the religion. The second is Liberal Judaism, in which few of the ceremonial usages are observed; the divine service has changed from the simple fervour of Orthodox Judaism to an ordered system which is in many respects an imitation of the Christian service, although Hebrew is still the principal language of the liturgy. This passes into Reform Judaism, in which the Jewish customs are no longer observed and the Hebrew language has almost entirely disappeared from the divine service, which in many cases is held on Sunday. Reform Judaism sees the greatest achievement of the Jewish religion in the lofty ethical teaching of the prophets, and regards the Talmudist commentary as now obsolete. It has lost the belief in revealed religion, and scarcely differs from religious sects with a purely ethical basis.

Orthodox Judaism is to this day strongly impregnated with nationalism, and regards the Jews not only as a religious but as a national community. Liberal and Reform Judaism look upon the Jews simply as a religious community, which, like the Catholic and Protestant religions, may have adherents in all nations.

In the United States the intermediate type called "Liberal" in Europe is known as "Conservative", and Reform Judaism is more widespread than in Europe. Orthodox Judaism is in general the religion of the Eastern European immigrants of the first generation; "Conservative" Judaism is that of their children; Reform

Judaism is the religion of the Jews of German origin and of the prosperous sections of the East European immigrants of the second and third generation.

In 1869 the first conference of Jewish religious reformers in America declared that " they look upon the destruction of the second Jewish Commonwealth as a result of the Divine purpose, which consists in the dispersion of the Jews to all parts of the earth for the realization of their high priestly mission to lead the nations to the true knowledge and worship of God ". This idea of Israel's mission was purely theological ; it had no justification in fact, and has been abandoned. Mordecai M. Kaplan[1] has sought to provide Reform Judaism in America with a theoretical basis by regarding religion as an essential part of Jewish cultural development, which includes not only religion but language, literature, folklore, and traditional ethical views. Like all human contrivances, Jewish culture is " an evolving, changing, adapting, and self-transforming organization ; it must continue to adapt itself constantly to the environment ". This " reconstruction theory " is an attempt to protect the Jewish religion from isolation and petrifaction, and to maintain it as an integral part of Jewish life. Kaplan demands the removal from the Jewish religion of everything that has reference only to past conditions, and the retention only of what is of value in our day. The Jews as a group must add to the cultural and ethical values of mankind. Only by such achievements can they convince themselves and others of the justification for their continued existence as a group. " If the Jewish people succeed in establishing a Jewish community life, committed to the maintenance of Jewish tradition modified by the achievements of modern culture, there is no reason why Jewish civilization cannot again function

[1] *Judaism as a Civilization* (New York, 1935) and *The Meaning of God* (New York, 1937).

as a way of salvation." [1] Reform Judaism considers that the most important means of guarding the Jewish religion are the Jewish communities, Jewish religious instruction, and the keeping alive of interest in Jewish affairs (by forming Lodges and " Jewish Centres ").

Reform Judaism is charged by Orthodox Jewry with robbing the Jewish religion of its specific character by destroying the belief in God as creator of the world, and as judge and dispenser of retribution, and the belief in the revelation on Mount Sinai. The reformers reply that the Bible story of the creation transmits ancient Jewish mythology and folklore but does not belong to the sphere of religion. It is necessary, they say, to free the conception of God from the dross of the efforts of the men of ancient times to picture God to themselves (more or less in the form of an enormously magnified beneficent Oriental despot). This purifying of the conception of God, they contend, does not lead to a decline into mere materialism and atheism, but to veneration of the unknown and unknowable power revealed in nature, to the recognition of our infinitesimal minuteness in comparison with the immeasurable vastness of the cosmic order, and to reverent amazement at the miracles of life in all its forms.

It is difficult to form an opinion as to how long it may be possible to keep the Jewish religion alive in the form of Reform Judaism. In America there are those who hold that Reform Judaism in its present form does not satisfy requirements. " There is an undeniable sentiment that the time is ripe for the reforming of the Jewish Reformation." [2] Traditional Judaism has the great advantage that the parents, out of their own deep religious faith, impart

[1] *The Meaning of God* (New York, 1937), p. 99. The word " Salvation " here means the raising of men out of egoism and immersion in everyday affairs into the sphere of activity for the benefit of mankind.

[2] S. W. Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York, 1937), vol. ii. p. 453.

to their children in their earliest years the feelings of piety which are the foundation of their later religious life, and which can never be absorbed with the same intensity in riper years. Where the parents themselves are "enlightened", they cannot implant any deep religious faith in their children. If in this case a child is reached by any religious influence or instruction, these come to him in a weaker form, not from his parents but from his school. Only in the rarest cases is a real believer produced by such means.

There can be no hope that the Jews will ever return to the uniformity of religious outlook of their past, down to the eighteenth century. But they are not alone in this; there are many sects, and many degrees of religious intensity, among the followers of Christianity and Mohammedanism, and this does not mean the end of those religions. The soil on which the religious feelings of every people grow is their common heritage, conscious and unconscious, of recollected common experiences (mythology, folklore, customs, history). In so far as these recollections still endure among the Jews and are different from those of other nations, their religious feelings will be of a special character, and there will still be a "Jewish" religion. Its future form and content cannot be foreseen. The extent to which the new Jewish national life in Palestine may be able to influence religious development will be shown in Chapter XVIII.

3. The Jewish community

Many Jewish religious customs require the presence of at least ten adult males. Perhaps this is the reason why the Jews, when they left Palestine for foreign countries, settled as far as possible in groups. These groups formed the nucleus of the local Jewish communities. Such com-

munities can be traced back to the time of the exile in Babylonia. For the task which Judaism set itself after the destruction of the Jewish State, the community was a necessary addition to the institute for religious study (*yeshiva*), which could accommodate only a small part of the people. Without such communities the Jewish religion would not have survived. They were the cells in which Jewish consciousness was preserved throughout the Middle Ages and down to modern times. Wherever Jews lived their first endeavour was to start local communal organizations with a house of prayer. The community made provision not only for divine service but for such ceremonies as marriages, burials, and circumcisions, for the care of orphans and the poor, and for the religious education of the young. In Eastern Europe it has remained a matter of course down to the present day for every pious Jew to be a member of a community, and to avoid districts in which no community exists. Jewish families scattered in rural districts would join the community in the nearest town and go there for the high feast-days. There were synagogues or prayer-houses in every Eastern European community; in the nineteenth century many were extended or rebuilt. For instance, in Roumania in 1933 there were 1192 synagogues, or one to every 670 Jews.

In the nineteenth century the relations between the religious communities and the State were regulated by law; in some countries, where the Jews had been settled for a long time, their communities were recognized as legal corporations, and State supervision of their budgets, franchise, and officials was introduced. Legislation of this kind was enacted at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries in Prussia, Austria, Poland, and Russia. In France new methods were adopted in 1808; a local Consistory, elected by the Jews for the conduct of their religious affairs, was founded in every

department (or group in the case of departments with less than 2000 Jewish inhabitants), and a Central Consistory for the whole of France was established in Paris. This organization continued until the separation of Church and State in 1905. The Jews now form voluntary communities, whose representatives elect a Central Council, presided over by the Chief Rabbi in Paris.

Since 1918 new regulations concerning Jewish communal organization have been enacted in several States — in Poland in 1928, in Roumania in 1929, in Spanish Morocco in 1930, in Italy and French Morocco in 1931. The Jewish communities are recognized as legal corporations, empowered to levy a direct income-tax or rates (on kosher meat, wine, mazza bread) on all Jews living in their district; and they are under State supervision. Everyone born of Jewish parents is regarded as a Jew unless he has formally declared his secession from the Jewish religious community or his parents have had him baptized. In addition to the ordering of public worship, the community may concern itself with social welfare and religious instruction. In some countries — *e.g.* in Poland and Italy — the rabbi is the official registrar of Jewish births, deaths, and marriages. As an example of the budget of a large community we may take Vienna, where in 1935 the Jewish community had an income of 6,750,000 schillings (about £250,000), of which approximately a third came from rates and the remainder from such sources as the sale of burial-places, seats in the synagogues, and fees for ceremonial acts. In Berlin in 1935–36 the budget of the Jewish community amounted to about 10,000,000 marks.

In most countries in which the constitution of the Jewish communities is regulated by law, only one such community is recognized in each place, but in addition to this official community voluntary ones may be formed.

In Hungary, on the other hand, by virtue of a law of 1869 three different officially recognized communities may exist in the same place — an Orthodox one, a Liberal (Neologue), and a so-called *Status quo* community.[1] The last-named is a community which has not taken advantage of the provision in the law of 1869 for dividing into a Liberal and an Orthodox community. In 1935 there were in Hungary 470 Orthodox, 235 Liberal, and 27 *Status quo* communities. The Orthodox communities were therefore the most numerous, but these are mainly in small towns, and the members of the Liberal communities are in a considerable majority. In 1935 the Jews in the Liberal communities were estimated at 320,000, those in the Orthodox ones at 125,000, and those in the *Status quo* communities at 17,000.

In some countries, including England, the State has left the organization of the Jewish religious communities to the Jews. In Lithuania in 1925 the Jewish communities were deprived of their character of legal corporations. In the United States it is open to all religions to form voluntary associations, which are subject to the common law of associations. In spite of this lack of official regulation, the Jews in the United States have an elaborate organization of community life. In 1927, of the 4,228,000 Jews in the United States, 4,077,000 were living in 871 places with an organization for Jewish public worship, and only 151,000 Jews were dispersed in 8141 places with no such organization.[2] In places with few Jews there is usually only one organization for the conduct of divine worship; in those with many Jews there are usually many organizations (Synagogue Associations or Congregations) for the conduct of worship in particular synagogues. In 1927

[1] In Budapest there was also a Sephardic community, dating from the time of the Turkish rule in the sixteenth century; but it was dissolved in 1938 for lack of members.

[2] From H. S. Lindfield, *The Jews in the U.S.* New York, 1927.

there were 3118 such Congregations, of which 1745 had their own rabbis. In seven towns with a Jewish population of more than 20,000 the Congregations had combined into a local Union (*kehilla*). The largest *kehilla*, that of New York, which was founded in 1909, continued in existence only until 1918. On the executive of the *kehilla* there are representatives of the congregations and of societies for Jewish welfare and education, as the activity of the *kehilla* extends to these matters. Thus duties which in other countries are assigned by law to the community have here been voluntarily assumed by it.

In 1938 the Nazi régime in Germany withdrew from the Jewish communities their right to be treated as legal corporations, and they are now on a voluntary basis. They no longer have the right to levy rates on all Jews in their district, but must rely on voluntary contributions from their members. This new regulation will hasten the dissolution of the Jewish communities in the small towns, which have already suffered severely from the migration of their members to the large cities. In Austria, where since the *Anschluss* the Jews have no longer been able to remain in the smaller towns, the number of Jewish communities fell from 33 in 1937 to 4 in March 1939. In 1934 nearly two-thirds of the Jews of Prussia lived in the four principal communities, Berlin, Frankfort, Hamburg, and Cologne. Of all the Jewish communities in Prussia, two-thirds were small communities with less than 100 members, about 27 per cent were of medium size with 100 to 500, 4 per cent had from 500 to 1000, 3 per cent (24 communities) had from 1000 to 10,000, and 4 large communities had more than 10,000 members.

In many countries the local communities have been combined into a union for the whole country, either voluntarily or under statutory regulations. When the Jewish communities were organized at the beginning of

the nineteenth century, unions of this kind were also provided for by the law in some countries, *e.g.* in Moravia and in Hungary. In 1869 in Prussia, and a little later in certain other German States, voluntary unions were set up. These unions had become necessary because the smaller communities were growing less and less able to fulfil their tasks, and needed the help of a central body. In 1933 there was founded in Berlin the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (National Union of the Jews in Germany), which undertook to represent the interests of the Jews in dealing with the Government. After the Government had deprived the Jewish communities of the rights of legal corporations in 1938, this association was dissolved and replaced by the "National Association for Jewish Emigration and Welfare" (Reichsvereinigung für Jüdische Auswanderung und Fürsorge). All Jews are required to become members of the Association.

In Roumania, under a law of 1929, separate Orthodox, Liberal, and Sephardic communities are permissible in every district. The communities of each type have combined into a union, and the three unions into a Jewish "Congress", which represents the interests of the whole of Roumanian Jewry in relation to the Government, and has the right to elect one member of the Senate. In Hungary, too, the Orthodox, Liberal, and *Status quo* communities have each formed a union for the whole country.

In the United States, the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregations have established three separate unions: the Union of Orthodox Congregations of America, the United Synagogues of America (Conservative), and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform). But only about 22 per cent of the congregations have joined these unions. Their main object is the upkeep of the rabbinical seminaries. According to Karpf,[1] the

[1] *Jewish Community Organization in the United States* (New York, 1938), p. 52.

Reform union had about 50,000 members, the Conservative one some 75,000, and the Orthodox a doubtful number estimated at a few tens of thousands. Of the 4,700,000 Jews in the United States, not more than a third belong directly or indirectly (as members of families) to the congregations. The rest are either entirely indifferent or merely attend a synagogue on the high feast-days, without being members of a congregation.

There are religious associations which extend their activities over many countries, including in their membership both organizations and individuals. Among these is the orthodox Agudat Yisrael, with headquarters in London (formerly Frankfort) and branches all over the world; the Association for Liberal Judaism in Germany, founded in 1907, which, however, has been reduced to impotence by the decline of German Jewry; and the World Union for Progressive Judaism (London), which represents the interests of Liberal Judaism all over the world. In the Zionist Organization, the Mizrachi group aims at developing the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine in accordance with Jewish religious law. More moderate in its claims than the Agudat Yisrael, for which all religious laws are irrevocable and absolutely binding, it favours the adjustment of religious precepts to modern conditions, but desires to effect it within the framework of the religious laws.

4. Religious instruction

Since the introduction of compulsory school attendance in the nineteenth century, it has no longer been possible for Jewish children to acquire Jewish knowledge to the same extent as formerly. In many European countries, with the consent of the Government, special instruction in Jewish religion and history has been introduced into the State schools, and is given by a Jewish teacher or a rabbi.

This instruction takes place on Sunday or on a weekday afternoon, and is limited to a few hours in the week. Religious instruction of this kind still continues (or continued until recently) in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. But as attendance is not obligatory, and depends on the wishes of the parents, many children stay away.

Special efforts to impart religious instruction to Jewish children have been made in recent years in the United States. Until 1909 there was no regular religious instruction. Some of the Jewish children of orthodox parents still attended the *chayders* (Jewish religious schools) as well as the ordinary schools; for the rest there was no instruction in Jewish subjects. In 1909, through the initiative of S. Benderly, religious instruction was placed on a new footing, a Teachers' Institute being added to the Jewish Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, and a Bureau of Jewish Education being founded in New York. Today nearly every large Jewish community has a school for the teaching of Jewish subjects, in English or Hebrew, on the lines of either Conservative or Reform Judaism. The teaching takes place either on Sundays or on half-holidays. The preparation of boys for the Bar-Mizwah (confirmation) is an important object, and is usually the culmination of this instruction.

In New York there are also Jewish secondary schools, attended in 1935 by some 2500 pupils from the elementary schools who wish to continue their Judaistic studies. There are also several *yeshivot* (Talmud schools), which give general instruction as well as teaching Jewish subjects, and which are officially recognized as elementary schools. Although the American Jews, under the leadership of the National Council for Jewish Education, devote large sums to this instruction (5,825,000 dollars in 1934), only about a fifth of the total of Jewish school children attend the

courses. According to an inquiry made in 1927, in New York, out of 315,000 Jewish children of school age, only 23·2 per cent attended courses of Jewish religious instruction. In Manhattan, where the Jewish immigrants are concentrated, the percentage was 33, in Brooklyn 19, and in Bronx 16. The percentage of those who attend the courses for a short time is higher.

In addition to the instruction in Jewish religion and history, the Jews in the United States endeavour, through the Jewish Welfare Board, to give young people of riper years the opportunity of pursuing sports, and of educating themselves further by means of lectures on Jewish themes. To this end the Board has, in the present century, set up Jewish Community Centres in nearly all the larger towns, at a cost of 30,000,000 dollars. In 1933 these Centres had about 300,000 members and a budget of 4,000,000 dollars.[1]

In the Argentine the J.C.A. has instituted special courses of religious instruction, which were attended in 1933 by some 3300 children, or 10 per cent of the total number of children of school age. This system has spread since to Brazil and Uruguay.

5. Seminaries and Jewish theological institutes

Until early in the nineteenth century the *yeshivot* (Talmud schools) were the centres in which the Jewish literature was studied and from whose students the Jewish communities usually chose their rabbis. Such *yeshivot* still exist in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland and Slovakia, and train scholars and rabbis for the Eastern European orthodox communities. In addition, during the last century theological seminaries on a modern basis have been founded for the needs of non-orthodox Jewry. These

[1] Karpf, *loc. cit.* p. 99.

provide a general academic education in addition to Jewish teaching. Among the oldest of the seminaries are the Collegio Rabbinico in Rome (earlier in Padua and Florence) and the Seminary of Metz (founded in 1829). Similar institutions came into existence in Berlin (one Conservative and one Liberal Seminary), Breslau, Vienna, London, Amsterdam, Budapest, Serajevo, Munkacz, and Rhodes. In the United States the oldest seminary is the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, established in 1875 for the training of Reform rabbis; the Conservative branch has the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York; the Orthodox branch has the Isaac Elchanan Seminary, now known as the Yeshiva College, in New York. There is also a seminary in Chicago, for Reform training.

Until the nineteenth century there were no other establishments than the *yeshivot* for the study of Jewish history, religion, and literature. Not until the first half of that century did such men as Leopold Zunz, Abraham Geiger, Samuel Holdheim, and Zacharias Frankel create in Germany a " science of Judaism ", concerned with Jewish history and the development of the Jewish liturgy and religion. This paved the way for the victory of Liberal and Reform Judaism in Central and Western Europe and in the United States by showing that the Jewish religion, like every other religion, has developed and can develop further. A distinction was made between the unchangeable components of Judaism (monotheism, ethics) and its temporary and variable forms of expression, and in this way the possibility of maintaining the Jewish religion without the cumbersome accessory of its ritual was demonstrated.

Among the institutions for the study of Jewish history and religion may be mentioned:

(1) The Society for Promoting the Knowledge of Judaism, founded in Berlin in 1902;

(2) The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning (Philadelphia), founded in 1905;
(3) The Academy for Jewish Knowledge (Berlin), founded in 1910;
(4) The Judaistic Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, founded in 1925.

In 1933 a chair of Jewish Science was set up in the University of Tartu (formerly Dorpat), in Estonia, and there are chairs of Jewish Culture at the Pan-Ukrainian Academy of Kiev and at the Institute for White-Russian Culture at Minsk. The Jewish Scientific Institute at Vilna (founded in 1925), supported by the voluntary contributions of Jews, comprises four sections — history, economics and statistics, literature, and language.

6. Charity

In the Middle Ages the Jewish communities were charged with the care of orphans, the poor, and the sick, and they continue this work to this day. In addition, there are numerous associations for particular charitable objects. In the countries with no officially recognized communities, social welfare is entirely in the hands of the voluntary congregations.

Provision for the needy is for the Jews a religious duty; moreover, in past centuries the Government authorities required the Jews to provide for their own poor and to maintain the necessary establishments. Similarly the community was made responsible for the payment of the rates due from its members. This enhanced the feeling of solidarity among the members of the communities, and their poor had the assurance that they would not be entirely deserted in time of need. To this day organized Jewish philanthropy contributes to the strengthening of the communal spirit.

The largest local Jewish welfare institution in the world is the Jewish Social Service Association of New York. It has gradually displaced the old system of uniform grants of alms in favour of the investigation of each case and an endeavour to make the sufferer self-supporting again. In all there are 4000 local Jewish welfare associations in the United States, supported by individual contributions or by central societies. They expend some 50 million dollars annually for charitable purposes and for Jewish education in the United States, for the assistance of Jews in other countries, and for the development of Palestine. If we add to this the sums expended on public worship, and the contributions from lodges and student associations for charitable purposes, we arrive at a total of about 100 million dollars expended by the Jewish welfare associations of the United States on social welfare, Jewish education, and religious objects in that country, and, to some extent, outside it.[1] In London the central institution is the Board of Guardians and Trustees for the Relief of the Jewish Poor (founded in 1859).

In the countries with legally recognized communities the larger communities have established special sections for social welfare, which usually have an understanding with the specialized independent associations for the avoidance of overlapping.

Such activities as assistance to emigration, the care of deaf-mutes and the blind, or the establishment of technical schools for the young, are carried on by nation-wide or international associations. In the United States the National Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds was founded in 1932, with the object of directing and co-ordinating welfare activities in the United States; it is supported in this work by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research. At the head of the Jewish welfare organizations

[1] Karpf, *loc. cit.* p. 67.

in Germany stood the Zentralausschuss für Hilfe und Aufbau (Central Committee for Relief and Reconstruction) in Berlin, which was founded in 1933 by the National Union of German Jews (now the National Association for Jewish Emigration and Welfare); in 1936 it had a budget of 5,150,000 marks, of which 2,200,000 marks were contributed by Jews in Germany and 2,950,000 by Jewish welfare associations outside Germany. The deterioration of the economic situation of the Jews in Germany and Austria has produced an enormous increase since 1936 in the number of those in need of assistance. It is estimated that the central Jewish welfare organizations in Germany and Austria expended 48,000,000 marks in 1938 on relief. The bulk of this was contributed by foreign relief organizations; the remainder came mainly from the sale of real estate owned by the Jewish communities and institutes. In Great Britain the Federation of Jewish Relief Organizations is the co-ordinating body for the local welfare associations, which devote themselves mainly to the assistance of the Jews of Eastern Europe. The Association of Jewish Friendly Societies, with some 400 local lodges and about 90,000 members, is also concerned with welfare work.

Among the international philanthropic organizations the oldest is the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, founded in 1860 by Adolphe Crémieux. In its early days it concerned itself with the promotion of Jewish emancipation and with assistance for Jews who were persecuted because of their race. Later it gave up these activities, and it now confines its activities to the maintenance of schools in the Near East: in 1936 its schools were attended by some 50,000 children.

The American Joint Distribution Committee (" Joint "), which was founded in 1914 in New York for the relief of suffering among European Jews caused by the War, was

very active in Eastern Europe. At first its work was purely philanthropic, but since about 1925, when political and economic conditions had begun to become normal in Eastern Europe, the Committee has transferred its attention to constructive work, which it does through a new society, the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation. This society endeavours to assist Jewish artisans in Eastern Europe through credit associations, whose membership grew from 24,000 in 1921 to 310,000 in 1931 (in Poland, Lithuania, Roumania, Latvia, etc.). Their capital amounted then to 3,500,000 dollars and their deposits to 9,000,000 dollars. Since 1931, in consequence of the deterioration in the economic position of the Jews in Eastern Europe, the membership and the capital of these associations have declined considerably. In recent years the "Joint" has contributed large sums for the Jews in Germany and Austria and the refugees from those countries. Since the occupation of Poland in September, 1939, it has extended its assistance to the Jewish war sufferers in Poland.

The "Joint" also takes part in promoting technical education. For the support of agricultural colonization in South Russia and the Crimea, it formed a special society, the "Agro-Joint", and later (1928) the American Society for Jewish Farm Settlement in Russia. The "Joint" obtains its funds from the contributions of American Jews; these amounted to 83 million dollars between 1914 and 1934. Of this total some 25 million dollars were expended in Poland, 21 millions in Russia, 9 millions in Palestine, and 3 millions in Roumania. The activities of the "Joint" during and after the Great War surpass in extent any former relief work within Jewry. If we add the remittances sent to relatives, the sums spent by the American Jews on Jewish relief in Eastern Europe between 1914 and 1934 probably exceeded 200 million dollars.

The Jewish Colonization Association (J.C.A.), founded

by Baron Hirsch in 1890 with a capital of 200,000,000 francs (£8,000,000), in addition to its agricultural colonization activities already mentioned, in the Argentine, the United States, and Russia and other European countries, has undertaken the agricultural and industrial training of young Jews in Eastern Europe, as well as the care of Jewish emigrants, especially from Germany, which has made great demands on Jewish philanthropy since 1933. From 1933 to the end of 1937, the J.C.A. has devoted a total of £700,000 to the assistance of Jewish refugees from Germany, including about £370,000 for agricultural settlement in the Argentine. In some cases, as in the matter of credit associations in Eastern Europe, the J.C.A. works in conjunction with the American Joint Distribution Committee. The J.C.A. is constituted as a limited company, the shares in which were transferred by Baron Hirsch in 1896 to the Jewish communities in Brussels, Berlin, and Frankfort, and the Anglo-Jewish Association in London. At a later date a considerable part of the shares was transferred to trustees.

The developments in Germany since 1933 under the Nazi régime have led to the formation of special relief organizations. The most important are the British Central Relief Fund, started in London in 1933, and the Council for German Jewry, formed in London in 1936 to take over its work. These two bodies had collected some £2,000,000 up to the beginning of 1939 in order to assist the emigration of Jews from Germany and their settlement in other countries, especially in Palestine. In that country they work through the Department for the Settlement of German Jews, which is attached to the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. After the *Anschluss* the Council for German Jewry also assumed responsibility for the Jewish emigrants from Austria. It subsidized the Movement for the Care of Children (for bringing over Jewish

children from Germany to England) and the German-Jewish Aid Committee (for the relief, training, and emigration of Jewish refugees in England). It also granted important subsidies to the National Association for Jewish Emigration and Welfare, of Berlin, the Jewish communal organization in Vienna, and certain committees concerned with the relief of scholars and students. In October, 1939, it changed its name to Council for Jewish Refugees.

Apart from the "Joint" and the J.C.A., which are concerned only partly with the care of emigrants, there are a number of associations devoted exclusively to the assistance of emigrants; these have already been mentioned above (in Chapter III). Jewish associations which are primarily of a social character, but also have philanthropic objects, are the "lodges", which are numerous in Central and Western Europe and especially so in the United States. Many of them are federated in the Bnai Brith. They keep alive the sense of Jewish solidarity in their members by means of frequent gatherings and lectures.

7. Youth organizations

The organizations of the Jewish youth are of special importance in those countries in which, owing to the weakening of the religious influence, the children learn little or nothing of Jewish tradition at home. The youth organizations also strengthen the sense of Jewish solidarity by facilitating intercourse between young Jews. Such organizations now exist in nearly all countries. So far as they are not purely sports clubs or students' unions, they generally promote the study of Jewish history and religion, the knowledge of Palestine, and of questions of the day which are of importance to Jews, and social intercourse between their members. Out of the large number of these associations only a few can be mentioned:

(1) Youth associations with Jewish tendencies of a general nature :
 (*a*) The Young Men's Hebrew Association and the Young Women's Hebrew Association, conducted mainly on the lines of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., in the United States ;
 (*b*) The Union Universelle de la Jeunesse Juive, in Paris, with branches in France and Holland ; its membership is largely composed of Sephardic Jews ;
 (*c*) The Éclaireurs Juifs in France ;

(2) Youth associations of a Zionist character ; these exist in most countries, and make their members acquainted with the history of Zionism, the Hebrew language, and the development of Palestine. In the United States and Canada the most important are the Young Judeans and the Junior Hadassah, which is affiliated to the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization. In South Africa about 10,000 young men and women are organized in the " Habonim " and other associations. In Europe the Zionist youth associations reflect the differences of opinion between the Zionist parties. Nearly all Zionist youth associations in Europe are created by, and affiliated to, one or other of the Zionist parties, bourgeois, Socialist, Orthodox, and so on. The world membership of the Zionist youth associations is estimated (1939) at 180,000 ; about one-third of these are in English-speaking countries. A Joint Committee for the affairs of the Zionist youth organization was founded in 1937, with a central office in Jerusalem, under a decision of the Zionist Congress at Zurich.

Most of the Zionist youth organizations in Eastern and Central Europe train their members in agriculture or handicrafts, as a preparation for Palestine. Outstanding among them is the Hehaluz organization, which

prepares its members (boys and girls) for Palestine, both technically and culturally. In 1936 the Hehaluz had branches in Poland, Germany, Lithuania, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, France, and other countries, with a total of 85,000 members, 17,500 of whom were being given occupational training. Other important associations of this kind are :

(*a*) the " Hashomer Hazair ", with its head office in Warsaw and branches all over Eastern Europe ; it has Socialist tendencies. Many of its members have taken up agriculture in Palestine ;

(*b*) the similar " Gordonia ", named after A. D. Gordon, who died at Daganiah (Palestine) ;

(*c*) the " Brith Trumpeldor ", named after Joseph Trumpeldor, who was killed in an Arab attack in Palestine in 1920 ; it is individualist and strongly militarist ;

(*d*) the " Zeire Mizrachi " and the " Brith Chaluzim datiim " in Poland and Germany, combining Zionist tendencies with adherence to Jewish tradition.

The Jewish Welfare Board mentioned in the previous chapter maintains " Jewish Centres " in some 150 towns of the United States and Canada ; these have gymnasiums, libraries, reading-rooms, and social rooms, and play an important part in the social and intellectual training of the Jewish youth. There exists also in the United States the Aleph Zadik Aleph organization as a junior division of the Bnai Brith.

PART V

ZIONISM AND ITS WORK

CHAPTER XVII

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

1. Messianic Zionism

The Zionist movement has a twofold origin : an East and a West European, a Messianic and a political origin. Even in the nineteenth century the hope was still alive in East European Jewry for the coming of the Messiah who from the uttermost ends of the earth would lead the Jews back to Palestine and revive their ancient kingdom. From time to time this hope received a fresh impulse, as certain statesmen played on it for their own ends ; thus in 1799 Napoleon during his Egyptian campaign tried to win over the Oriental Jews to his side by holding out to them a hope of the revival of their kingdom.[1]

When in 1881 pogroms and anti-Semitic legislation reduced the Russian Jews to despair and gave rise to mass emigration, the vast majority went to America, but a small fraction, mostly of the " intelligentsia ", turned to Palestine. They thought that the Jews should not passively await the coming of the Messiah and the restoration of the Jewish State, but should seek to prepare the way for it by settling and working as agriculturists in Palestine. This idea had first been advanced by Moses Hess in his

[1] For the history of Zionism before Herzl see N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism* (2 vols., London, 1919), and M. N. Gelber, *Vorgeschichte des Zionismus* (Vienna, 1927) ; for the history of modern Zionism see Adolf Boehm, *Die Zionistische Bewegung* (2nd edition, first vol., Tel-Aviv, 1935 ; second vol., 1937) ; Alex. Bein, *Der Zionismus und sein Werk* (Prague, 1938).

Rom und Jerusalem, published in 1862, and afterwards by Leo Pinsker, of Odessa, in his book *Auto-Emancipation*, published in 1882. In the latter year the first immigrants from Russia and Roumania went to Palestine and founded the agricultural settlements of Rishon le Zion, Zichron Jacob, and Rosh Pina. At that time Palestine had no ports, railways, or modern roads; the Turkish administration was inefficient and corrupt. The inhabitants, who numbered some 300,000, were on the lowest cultural and economic level; malaria and trachoma were endemic. The 34,000 orthodox Jewish inhabitants — half of them Ashkenazim and half Sephardim — inhabited the four "holy cities", Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias, subsisting mainly on charity from Europe; there was no Jewish agriculture and practically no industry.

In spite of these conditions, the Russian forerunners of Zionism formed in Odessa, in 1885, the society "Khoveve Zion" (Friends of Zion) for promoting emigration to Palestine. They had no clear insight into the economic possibilities of Palestine, and met very soon with big obstacles in the way of agricultural colonization. Although Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris took the greatest interest in it and, from 1885 onwards, devoted large sums of money to the few agricultural settlements established since 1882 and to new settlements founded on his own initiative, it was only possible for a few dozen families to settle there every year as agriculturists. Palestine could not become a refuge for the hundreds of thousands, nay the millions, of Jews anxious to leave Russia. Achad Haam (Usher Ginzberg), who visited Palestine in 1890, reached the conclusion that, although the country could not receive large numbers of Jewish immigrants, it ought to become the spiritual centre of Jewry. He regarded the return of a certain number of Jews to Palestine not as an end in itself, but as the means of creating a centre of real Jewish life,

and so of revitalizing world-Jewry. He understood that this was not possible without a considerable Jewish settlement in Palestine, which should be economically self-sufficient; it should consist not of traders, dependent on Arab customers, but of Jewish peasants, a future bulwark against assimilation.[1]

2. Political Zionism

Anti-Semitism, which revived in Germany and Austria about 1875, gave the first impetus to Zionism in Western and Central Europe, where the Jews were utterly unprepared for such a revival, having in the preceding two or three generations done all they could to become assimilated to their non-Jewish fellow citizens.

Theodore Herzl (1860–1904), the founder of political Zionism, openly admitted that the Dreyfus case (1895) was for him the turning-point. Till then he had regarded the assimilation of the Jews as a natural and desirable process, but amid the anti-Jewish passions evoked in the French people by the Dreyfus case the true situation flashed on him. He realized the existence of a latent hatred of the Jews in many non-Jews which, at the slightest provocation, is apt to burst into flame. He explained this by the fact that the Jews had no State of their own — they were defenceless against attack; if anywhere in the world they had a "Jewish State", they would be the equals of other nations and would be treated as such. In his book *The Jewish State* (Vienna, 1896), Herzl did not name the territory for the Jewish State; only when he became acquainted with the aims of the "Khoveve Zion", and found allies among them, did he decide for Palestine. He then approached the Sultan of Turkey for the grant of a

[1] See my report to the Zionist Congress in Vienna (1913), where, in the presence of Achad Haam, I interpreted his doctrine in the above sense.

charter for the colonization of Palestine, but he failed to obtain it. Still, by founding the Zionist World Organization and by summoning Zionist congresses in 1897, 1898, 1899, 1901, and 1903, he succeeded in spreading the conception of the " creation for the Jewish people of a home in Palestine secured by public law " in a large part of Jewry, and even interested non-Jews in his plan. In 1899, on his initiative, the Jewish Colonial Trust was founded in London as the financial instrument of the Zionist Organization, and a few years later the Anglo-Palestine Company, now Anglo-Palestine Bank, as the agency of the Trust in Palestine. In 1901, at the suggestion of Professor Hermann Schapira, and under Herzl's leadership, the Jewish National Fund was started, with the aim of acquiring land for the Jewish people in Palestine and letting it to individuals on long-term lease.

Many hopes were based by the Zionists on Palestine. It was to be a refuge for those Jews who were unable or unwilling to remain in the countries of their birth; through the foundation of a Jewish national and cultural centre it was to counteract the threatening absorption of Jewry by assimilation; it was to give the Jews a voice in international politics and enable them to protect Jewish interests in countries whose Jews were too weak to defend themselves; and by the high cultural attainments of Palestinian Jews it was to regain for the Jewish people a place among the nations and make known their share in the development of civilization, now credited to individual Jews only, or to the nations among whom they live.

Even in Herzl's lifetime, and still more after his death in 1904, the Zionist movement suffered because of the cleavage between the " practical " Zionism of the East European and the " political " Zionism of the Western Jews. To the East European Jews Zionism meant the fulfilment of the Messianic hope of a return to Palestine,

their old homeland, implicit in Jewish history, and they meant to work for it in Palestine, culturally and economically, even without political guarantees; while the Western Jews were primarily in search of a territory for Jewish immigration and self-government, to be acquired by diplomatic negotiations — Palestine was to be that territory, because the chances of obtaining it seemed comparatively favourable. When in 1903 the hope vanished of reaching an understanding with Turkey, Herzl readily entered into the proposal of the British Government to hand over Uganda for Jewish colonization. The East European Zionists looked upon this as a betrayal of the Zionist idea, which for them was inseparably connected with Palestine. The Uganda scheme was abandoned, and slowly the "practical" Zionists conquered ground. In 1908 the Zionist Organization established in Jaffa the Palestine Office as its agency for its activities in Palestine, and in the same year the Palestine Land Development Company was founded, mainly for purchasing land for agricultural and urban settlement; these two were instrumental in the first new attempts at settlement (including the foundation of the town of Tel-Aviv) and in the inauguration of a new educational system with Hebrew as the language of teaching.

When, during the War, Palestine was conquered by British troops, Herzl's dream of a charter was unexpectedly realized. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a Jew of Russian birth but naturalized in Great Britain, obtained in 1917 through Mr. Balfour, who was then Foreign Secretary, a declaration from the British Government promising assistance to the Jewish people in the building of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, provided that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

This declaration was the outcome of political considera-

tions as well as of humanitarian sympathies and religious belief. The geographical position of Palestine, next to Egypt and the Suez Canal, gave Great Britain a direct interest in a settlement of pro-British Jews in Palestine, while her connexion with Zionism established for her a moral claim to the administration of the country. Moreover, the Jewish sympathies, gained all over the world by the Balfour Declaration, were by no means a negligible factor for Great Britain, either in 1917 or later. But perhaps humane and religious motives were of more moment. Many people in Great Britain, and foremost among them Mr. Balfour, thought it only just that when so many oppressed nationalities were being granted independence the claim of the Jews should also receive attention, and that amends should be made for old wrongs inflicted on them. Moreover, many pious Christians in Great Britain, of the highest intellectual standing, believed, like the Jews, that the words of the Prophets must be fulfilled in the return of the Jews to Palestine. English literature of the past century contains many references to that idea. In 1841, when after the defeat of Mehemet Ali Palestine passed into the hands of the European Great Powers, Colonel Churchill, British Consul at Beirut, submitted to the Jewish Board of Deputies in London a plan for the restoration of the Jewish kingdom. Disraeli in *Tancred* (1847), and George Eliot in *Daniel Deronda*, expressed their hope for the return of the Jews to Palestine. About 1880 Laurence Oliphant, actuated by religious and philanthropic motives, tried to obtain the Sultan's permission for the Jews to settle in Palestine, and himself, from Haifa, assisted them in their first efforts at colonization.

After the War, Palestine was ceded by Turkey to the victorious Allied Powers and placed by them under the League of Nations, from which Great Britain received in

1922 a Mandate for the administration of the country. The Mandate embodied the Balfour Declaration, which afterwards became part of the Palestine Constitution (Palestine Order in Council of 1922). The Mandate bases the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine on the historical connexion of the Jewish people with the country. The Mandatory Power is charged with placing Palestine under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and in this work it is to have the advice and co-operation of an appropriate "Jewish Agency" to be set up for the purpose. Thus the legal guarantees demanded by Herzl for the colonization of Palestine were obtained. But the provisions of the Mandate with regard to the establishment of a Jewish National Home were limited to Palestine west of the Jordan; Transjordania was excluded.

The Jewish Agency provided for in the Mandate was definitely established in 1929, when the Zionist Organization united forces with Jews who do not share the Zionist conception of Jewish nationalism but are interested in the development of Palestine as a centre for Jewish immigration. At the 1935 Zionist Congress the "Revisionist" wing of the Zionist Organization failed to carry its proposal of a "Jewish State on both sides of the Jordan". The Revisionists then left the Zionist Organization and established a "New Zionist Organization". This is not represented on the Jewish Agency.

3. Influence of Zionism on Jewish life in the Diaspora

In Eastern Europe, where the majority of the Jews were still conscious of their separate national individuality and differed widely in language and customs from their

Christian neighbours, they enthusiastically welcomed the rise of Zionism, which was to restore them to the political and cultural freedom denied them in Tsarist Russia. Only part of the assimilated upper classes stood aloof, and also part of the orthodox Jews, for whom Zionism was too secular and too liberal.

In Central and Western Europe Zionism came too late for the majority of the Jews; they had advanced too far along the road of assimilation to turn back. Though disappointed at the revival of anti-Semitism, most of them hoped that it would pass, and that ultimately the Jews would attain full equality. Here Herzl's call was heard chiefly by immigrants from Eastern Europe, and by the students, who found in Zionism a dignified reply to the anti-Semitism around them — it restored their self-respect as Jews. From the students Zionism spread to other circles of Jewish youth, and a few drew the logical conclusion and emigrated to Palestine. Others, who could not, or would not, do so, assisted in the work of the Zionist Organization, and tried to strengthen the Jewish national consciousness in the Diaspora by propagating Jewish knowledge, by improving the communal organizations, and so on. Were it not for Zionism, the growing generation in Western and Central Europe would have been almost completely lost to Judaism.

The further the Jews were removed from East European influences, and the less they had to suffer from anti-Semitism, the less did they respond to the call of Zionism. In the United States, the movement found the strongest support among the immigrants who had grown up in Eastern Europe, and had brought with them a knowledge and consciousness of Judaism; in the second and third generation of immigrants Zionism is much weaker, and it has found very few followers among the fully Americanized Sephardic and German Jews.

In 1921 the Zionist Organization established the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod) for the purpose of collecting contributions from world-Jewry for work in Palestine (care of immigrants, agricultural settlement, industrial credits, education, etc.). Between April 1, 1921, and September 30, 1938, the Jews of the United States contributed 47 per cent of the revenue of this fund, and those of Great Britain with Canada and South Africa 18 per cent. The total contribution of world-Jewry (excluding Soviet Russia, where Zionist collections are illegal) to the Keren Hayesod, from April 1921 to the end of 1938, amounted to £6,700,000, and to the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth), from 1902 to 1938, to about £4,000,000, or about 21s. per head to the two funds together.

Among the East European Jews, Zionism has converted a vague hope or idea into a concrete, practicable programme, and focussed their desires for national survival; through it Jewish life has acquired sense and substance. For many West European Jews, especially of the younger generation, Zionism has called a halt on the road to assimilation; it has shown them the way by which the Jews can once more attain a life of their own, and regain their position among the nations. The numb indifference, characteristic of Jewish life at the end of the nineteenth century, has given way to movement and work. Moreover Zionism, by appealing for a joint effort, by creating a world organization, and by holding world congresses, has revived the sense of Jewish unity. It has changed the Jews, who hitherto, at the best, were only prepared to combine for defence against anti-Semitism, into a community ready to undertake constructive work.

A new justification and impulse were given to the Zionist movement by the anti-Jewish policy adopted in Germany in 1933. The hope of attaining full equality, for

which five generations of German Jews had striven, broke down, and in consequence many German Jews gave up the idea of complete assimilation and turned to Zionism. About 70,000 Jews, mostly of the younger generation, left Germany (including Austria) for Palestine between March 1933 and August 1939. They have contributed considerably to economic and cultural progress in Palestine on account of their knowledge as manufacturers, medical men, artists, and scientists. Palestine was the only bright spot in the gloomy outlook which faced the Jews under Nazi rule.

The new anti-Semitism in Germany (and subsequently in Austria, Hungary, and Italy) affected the outlook of the Jews in other countries. It shattered their confidence in the solidity of their political and economic situation. If the Jews in Germany, who were regarded as the vanguard of Jewry, could suddenly be deprived of the rights they had acquired during a century, what guarantee of immunity had those in other countries? The doubtful efficacy of assimilation as a solution of the Jewish problem was again revealed; the Zionist approach to the problem became more comprehensible and acquired many new adherents.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REBUILDING OF PALESTINE

1. General development

In 1920, actually before the Palestine Mandate had been officially conferred on Great Britain, Sir Herbert Samuel was appointed High Commissioner of Palestine; he held the post till 1925. His administration laid the foundations for the modernization of the country. During the War a railway connexion had been established with Egypt, and now a network of good roads was built. The equalization of Hebrew with Arabic and English, as prescribed by the Mandate, was put into practice, reforms of Customs and taxation were begun, sanitation, afforestation, and land registration were organized on a modern basis, and legislation adapted to new requirements. Towns and large villages were granted municipal autonomy. Thanks to an ordered administration ensuring general security, to the introduction of education for the Arabs and of a fairer system of taxation, and to a huge influx of Jewish capitalists and experts, considerable cultural and economic advance was achieved in the country. In 1927 a Palestine currency was established. Some years later a modern harbour was constructed at Haifa. Jewish initiative led to the establishment of a hydro-electric plant providing the country with power and light.

From 1932, while nearly all other countries of the world were suffering from a severe economic crisis, Palestine

experienced an unprecedented boom, as a result of the influx of Jewish immigrants and Jewish capital. The increase in the revenue from taxes and duties made it possible for the Government to build up a surplus of £6,000,000. The outbreak of riots in 1936 ended this upward trend and produced economic depression.

2. Jewish economic activities [1]

At the time of the first Zionist Congress in 1897, the number of Jews in Palestine amounted only to about 50,000; by 1914 it had increased to 85,000–90,000. It fell to 65,000 in 1918, but rose again to 83,000 in 1922 and to 180,000 (17 per cent of the population) in 1931. It had reached some 440,000, *i.e.* 31·4 per cent of the total settled population of about 1,400,000 (excluding 67,000 Arab nomads), by the end of 1938, and about 460,000 by August 1939. About 76 per cent of the Jews in Palestine are Ashkenazim, about 9 per cent Sephardim, and the remaining 15 per cent Oriental Jews from Yemen, Iraq, Morocco, Iran, Bukhara, etc.

This increase is chiefly due to immigration, which in the nine years 1923–31 left a net surplus (after deducting re-emigrants) of 70,000. Afterwards Jewish immigration rose to 12,000 in 1932, 40,000 in 1933, 50,000 in 1934, and 61,000 in 1935. It then fell, as a result of the disturbances, of arbitrary restrictions by the Mandatory Power, and of increasing difficulty of transferring money from Central and Eastern Europe, to 30,000 in 1936, 10,500 in 1937, and to 12,900 in 1938.[2] Under the Palestine immigration rules,

[1] See my article, "Twenty-five Years of Palestine", in the *Theodore Herzl Memorial*, p. 195, published by the review *New Palestine* (New York, 1929); Adolf Boehm, *Die Zionistische Bewegung* (2 vols., 2nd edition, Tel-Aviv, 1935 and 1937); Leonard Stein, *Zionism* (London, 1934); and my report to the 19th Zionist Congress, held in Lucerne in 1935.

[2] In the first nine months of 1939 the number of Jewish immigrants amounted to 8400; in addition, several thousands of Jews entered the

Jews possessing a minimum capital of £1000, or dependent relatives of residents in Palestine who are in a position to support them, were freely admitted until the summer of 1937, while labour immigration was regulated by a schedule fixed by the Government of Palestine every six months in accordance with the prospects of additional employment (economic absorptive capacity). The bulk of the immigration certificates issued under that schedule were handed over to the Jewish Agency, which distributed them among the various countries. In 1937 the British Government restricted Jewish immigration to about 6000 half-yearly, describing the reduction as merely temporary. In the White Paper of 1939 the Government communicated its decision to admit to Palestine in the next five years a total of 75,000 Jews, including 25,000 " refugees ".

A big influx of money has accompanied this immigration. Apart from the contributions to the two Central Zionist funds, the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth, other associations like the Friends of the Jerusalem Hebrew University; the Women's International Zionist Organization (W.I.Z.O.), comprising 80,000 members and engaged chiefly in training girls in agriculture and domestic economy; and the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization, with 70,000 members in the United States, which maintains hospitals and similar institutions in Palestine, raised considerable sums among world-Jewry for Palestine. The total voluntary contributions for the upbuilding of Palestine, since the Great War, amounted up to the end of 1938 to £16,500,000.[1] In addition, a much larger total has been invested in Palestine by important Jewish public bodies (Pica, the Palestine Corporation of London, the

country without legal visa. The Government counted these against the schedule to be issued for the period from October 1939 to March 1940, and granted no immigration permits to Jews for that period.

[1] I am obliged for these data to Mr. A. Ulitzur, of the Keren Hayesod, Jerusalem, who has made a comprehensive survey of this subject.

Joint Distribution Committee, and the Palestine Economic Corporation of New York), and by private Jewish companies and Jewish immigrants, for the purchase of land, the laying out of orange plantations, the building of houses, loans on mortgage, investments in industrial and commercial concerns, transport, etc. The total of these investments is estimated at £40,000,000 for the period from 1921 to 1931 and at £50,000,000 for the period from 1932 to 1938.

Of the whole area of Palestine, measuring about 26,000,000 dunams (26,000 sq. km. or 6,500,000 acres), of which half is cultivable and about one-third is actually under cultivation, the Jews owned in June 1939, 1,460,000 dunams, of which 90 per cent was cultivable, as compared with 400,000 dunams in 1920. About 440,000 dunams of the Jewish land belong to the Jewish National Fund. In 1914 the Jewish rural population amounted to 12,000 and the number of agricultural settlements to 44; by August 1939 the number of these settlements had risen to about 240, with a population of about 110,000, of whom 65,000 lived by agriculture (including 20,000 agricultural labourers and their dependants). A great part of the Plain of Esdraelon (Emek Yesreel), the largest plain in Palestine, and of the Plain of Zebulon (Acre), has been acquired by the Jews since 1921 and covered with prosperous villages, and many improvements (draining of swamps, extermination of malaria, and construction of wells and roads) have been carried out. In the orange belt in the coastal zone there were only about 30,000 dunams of citrus plantations in 1923, of which 10,000 belonged to Jews; by 1939 the area had increased to 300,000 dunams, of which 160,000 were owned by Jews. In 1938–39 about fifteen million boxes of citrus fruits were exported (nearly two-thirds, of the value of about £1,500,000, by Jewish planters). In the coastal zone orange plantations are the most important branch of agriculture. In the other parts of the country

the Jewish settlers have developed mixed farming (dairy farming supplemented by poultry farming, grain, vegetables, and fodder growing, orchards, and vineyards); they have the advantage of being able to sell their produce in the home market — mainly through the Co-operative Marketing Society, Tnuvah, which had a turnover of £560,000 in 1937–38. An experimental station at Rehoboth, founded by the Zionist Organization in 1922, aims at improving agricultural methods, selection of seeds, combating animal and vegetable pests, and assisting the settlers with advice and instruction.

The Daniel Sieff Research Institute at Rehoboth, established in 1934 and conducted by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, is engaged in the scientific investigation of problems connected with the preservation and the industrial manufacture of agricultural produce.

Sir John Hope Simpson recognizes the superiority of the agricultural colonization in Palestine: "Any organization which plans emigration of refugees would be well advised to study the technique of those organizations which have been responsible for the settlements in Palestine".[1] The success of agricultural settlement in Palestine has been due, however, only in part to organization and technical progress, and still more to the fact that the settlers see in agriculture not only their livelihood but the essential basis of the Jewish National Home. This has given them the enthusiasm with which to conquer their initial difficulties. Agricultural work has been ennobled and "sanctified" in Palestine: it has been accepted as one of the essentials for the rebuilding of a Jewish commonwealth. This is the main difference between agricultural colonization in Palestine and in the Argentine or the Soviet Union, where only philanthropic aims are being pursued in the settlement of Jews in agriculture.

[1] Hope Simpson, *The Refugee Problem* (London, 1939), p. 441.

Marked progress has also been achieved in industry, which is concentrated chiefly in Haifa and Tel-Aviv. Whereas in 1920 only about 10,000 Jews (including dependants) lived by industry, handicrafts, and the building trades, their number was estimated in 1937:

In handicrafts and industry, at	30,000	earners	with	40,000	dependants
„ the building trades, at	10,000	„	„	30,000	„
Together, at	40,000	„	„	70,000	„

The main industrial products are potash and bromine (from the Dead Sea), cement, other building material, flour, wine, oil, soap, textiles, clothes, furniture, cigarettes, medicaments, chocolate, and souvenirs; an important place is also taken by the building trade, and by printing. In 1937 there were 5606 Jewish enterprises, of which 1556 were factories and workshops and 4050 artisans' establishments. The value of their output in 1936 was £9,109,000, the capital invested amounted to £11,637,000, the salaries and wages paid to about £3,000,000.[1]

The Palestine Electric Corporation, which generates electricity in a hydro-electric station by the Jordan and in other subsidiary stations, has increased the sale of electricity from 5⅓ million kWh in 1931 to about 72 million kWh in 1938.

The largest town in Palestine, Tel-Aviv, was founded in 1908 as a suburb of Jaffa, but developed after the War so rapidly that, in 1939, with its 170,000 inhabitants (nearly all of them Jews), it had about three times the population of Jaffa. In the other towns there were estimated to be, in 1938:

In Jerusalem,	80,000	Jews,	*i.e.*	66	per cent	of	the population
„ Haifa and suburbs,	62,000	„	„	55	„	„	„
„ Jaffa,	15,000	„	„	26·5	„	„	„
„ Tiberias,	7,000	„	„	64	„	„	„
„ Safed,	2,000	„	„	20	„	„	„

[1] According to an industrial census taken in 1937, the results of which were compiled by David Gurevich, Statistician of the Jewish Agency, and published in *Jewish Manufacture, Transportation, and Commerce*, Jerusalem 1939.

In Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tiberias extensive Jewish suburbs have been built in accordance with modern town-planning requirements.

The tourist traffic is also a source of income for the Jews as well as for the Arabs. In 1935, 36,000 Jewish tourists (out of a total of 107,000 tourists) visited Palestine. Many hotels have been built in Tel-Aviv, in Jerusalem, and on Mount Carmel in Haifa. Health resorts have been established in Tiberias (sulphur springs) and by the Dead Sea. The modern harbour of Haifa and the new roadstead at Tel-Aviv have done away with the past landing and shipping difficulties. The airports of Lydda and Haifa connect Palestine with the main air lines of the world. About 4200 Jews were engaged in transport in 1937, including 2831 in motor transport, 1135 in navigation and lighterage, and 26 in aviation.

Internal trade is of less importance to the Jews of Palestine than in other countries because the wants of the Arabs are small and are supplied by Arab merchants; the Jewish traders cater almost exclusively for Jews. According to the industrial census of 1937, there were 17,545 Jews engaged as shopkeepers or assistants in the retail trade, and 2914 engaged in the wholesale trade. Many of the Jews are professional men or have positions in the civil service or police.

A marked feature of the economic life of Palestine is the growth of Jewish co-operatives, of which there were 875 (as against 128 Arab co-operatives) in 1937, with about 100,000 members and a share capital of £1,700,000. The most important among them are the credit societies, numbering 115, with about 86,000 members; there are also co-operative stores, co-operatives for marketing agricultural produce, co-operatives for house building, for motor transport, etc.[1]

[1] See the Government Report, *Co-operative Societies in Palestine*, Jerusalem, 1938 (p. 40): "The Jewish community in Palestine abounds in

Among the Jewish agricultural settlements are many collective farms (*kvuzoth*) and group settlements (*kibbuzim*).

Labour, owing to its high percentage in the Jewish population and to its good organization, exercises a strong influence in political life ; in the elections to the Knesseth Israel (the Jewish representative assembly) in 1931 it secured half of the total vote.

The economic achievements of the Jews in Palestine are the more remarkable since they have been attained in spite of difficulties resulting from the high price of land, from Article 18 of the Palestine Mandate, and from the general economic policy of the Government. The Jews were virtually unable to get Government land, and thus had to buy from private holders, paying double and treble the price of similar land in Syria, Transjordania, or Cyprus. Article 18 of the Constitution grants most-favoured-nation treatment to all States Members of the League of Nations (excepting the States formerly belonging to Turkey in Asia) for their imports into Palestine. A State which takes no goods at all from Palestine but exports large quantities to the country pays no higher duty than another State which is a large purchaser of Palestinian goods. Between 1935 and 1938 Palestine imported annually goods to the value of some £14,000,000 and exported to the value only of £5,000,000, mainly citrus fruits. If it had unrestricted liberty to conclude commercial treaties, it could make use of its great excess of imports as an effective lever with which to promote its exports.

The economic policy, moreover, of the Government was made to serve the interest of the Arabs, who have few industries and are therefore mainly concerned to obtain

idealists who look upon co-operation almost as a religion and as an economic organization which has been devised for the salvation of mankind. They are to be met on the committees of many societies and they are always eager to help. The Jewish community is fortunate in possessing such large numbers of public-spirited men."

cheap manufactured goods. Jewish industry, which, like every industry in its early stages, required some modicum of protection, had a hard struggle to obtain it. And the agricultural producers have suffered to this day from the fact that agricultural produce is imported into Palestine at extraordinarily low prices from neighbouring countries with a much lower standard of living.

For the citrus planters, who export most of their fruit to England, it is a great handicap that they do not enjoy the benefits of the Imperial Preference secured in the English market under the Ottawa Agreement of 1932 to the British Dominions and colonies; they are thus at a disadvantage in competing, for instance, with the citrus fruits of Cyprus and of South Africa. All the efforts of Palestine to secure admission to the circle of Imperial Preference have thus far been defeated by legal arguments and by the opposition of the privileged countries.

3. Education and culture

The great cultural achievement of the Jews in Palestine is the revival of the Hebrew language. The task was not an easy one, as from a practical point of view the languages of the immigrants (Russian, Polish, German) or the Arab language of their neighbours were undoubtedly much more serviceable than Hebrew, which is spoken only by a small community. But the Hebrew language was indispensable as a bond of national union, and the realization of this outweighed all practical considerations. Hebrew has thus become the native tongue of the rising Jewish generation in Palestine. Since the War, English has also been taught as the principal foreign language in all public Jewish schools, and the knowledge of English has increased among the Palestinian Jews, who, like other small nations, will have to speak a world language as well as their own tongue.

The Hebrew schools in Palestine were attended in 1936–37 by 67,000 children. A Technical College at Haifa gives instruction in all technical subjects to about 550 students (1938–39). The Hebrew University in Jerusalem, founded in 1925 on Mount Scopus with the aid of large contributions from American Jews, was attended in 1938–39 by 850 students; it had an academic staff of some 120 professors and assistants. It comprises a Faculty of Humanities (especially for Jewish studies) and a Faculty of Science (with departments of chemistry, physics, mathematics, and biology). The establishment of a Medical Faculty and of an Agricultural College is under way. The National Library, containing about 250,000 volumes, is incorporated with that of the University.

The Palestinian Jews have succeeded in organizing themselves in an elected national body, the "Knesseth Israel", which is recognized by the Government as representing them in religious, cultural, and communal affairs, and is empowered to tax its members. The ultra-orthodox Jews of the Agudat Yisrael remain, so far, outside the Knesseth Israel, because it does not conform to their standards of Jewish tradition.

The revival of Hebrew has attracted Hebrew authors from the Diaspora to Palestine. It is estimated that in 1937 there were 285 Hebrew authors in Palestine, forming 75 per cent of the Hebrew authors in the world. Palestine has thus become the centre of Hebrew literature and journalism. Four daily papers and a large number of periodicals are published in Hebrew. The Hebrew theatre has also taken root in Palestine, and has made great progress since the War; there are two dramatic companies, the Habimah and the Ohel. The Jewish taste for music has led to the founding of several schools of music, and the most noted Jewish musicians of the world visit Palestine. A Jewish orchestra has been formed, on the initiative

of Bronislaw Huberman, and has been conducted by Toscanini and other famous artists. The facts that a large hospital attached to the Hebrew University has been built, that a Cancer Research Institute has been established, and that many famous physicians, especially from Berlin and Vienna, have settled in Palestine in recent years, are likely to make Palestine the medical centre for the Jews of the whole world, and also for non-Jewish patients in the Near East.

The special circumstances of the upbringing of the Jewish youth in Palestine have produced new traits in them. They have lost the sense of inferiority and the timidity of the past, and have grown up self-respecting and courageous. An idea for which men are ready to give their lives can hardly fail to develop the highest form of courage. The Jews in the Diaspora, helpless victims of alien domination, knew this courage only in its passive form, in the endurance of suffering. Under the Inquisition they submitted to be bound to the stake by wet ropes and slowly burned to death rather than deny their faith. But they could not develop active courage because they could not serve as militant champions of an idea. War, the most frequent opportunity for proofs of heroic courage, was an unfamiliar element to them. Thus they arrived on the threshold of modern times as timid people, averse from fighting, while the fighting spirit and personal courage were widespread among the Christians. In recent decades the Jewish youth have organized for defence during pogroms in Eastern Europe, and on many occasions they have driven back their assailants. During the Great War many Jews, fighting for their countries of birth, showed outstanding bravery. But in our days the fighting spirit has been developed still more in Palestine. Here the Jews, for the first time since their dispersion, have had an opportunity of joining in organizations of their own, under their own

leaders, for the defence of their lives and property. Here they feel that they are serving a great idea. The generation that is growing up in Palestine represents a new type of Jew reminiscent of the Maccabees of ancient times.

4. Endeavours at social reform

Zionists were already declaring in Herzl's time that the Jews must not transplant to Palestine all the economic and social conditions of their life in the Diaspora, whether these were freely assumed or forced upon them ; with the change in their legal status and occupational structure, their social ethics too must undergo a change. Thus the Jewish National Fund was started in order to acquire Palestinian land for the Jewish people, and to prevent land speculation and profiteering by individuals at the expense of the community. Herzl also favoured a seven-hour day, co-operative agricultural settlements, political equality for women, etc. These initial social tendencies were emphasized by the fact that a large proportion of the immigrants into Palestine consisted of young people, educated in Russia during the period of intense social ferment following the revolution of 1905. For them the new national life in Palestine meant social reform, and they demanded that European or American capitalism should not be slavishly reproduced, but that a fairer social system should be the aim.

The exponent of this idea has been the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Erez Israel (the " Histadrut "), founded in 1920 as a trade union organization and comprising workers of all political shades. The two main political labour parties, the Marxist " Achdut Awodah ", and the less doctrinaire " Hapoel Hazair ", joined in 1930 to form a single party, the Hebrew Workers' Party, which is affiliated to the Socialist (Second) International. This

is now the principal political workers' party. There are two others, the "Hashomer Hazair", with a programme of social justice, and the "Hapoel Hamizrahi", with religious tendencies. The workers belonging to the Revisionists (with strong nationalist and bourgeois tendencies) have formed an organization of their own. The workers' parties stand for the principles of the Jewish National Fund, *i.e.* that land should be given on a perpetual lease to agricultural settlers while the ownership is vested in the community; for extension of the co-operative societies; for an eight-hour day; prohibition of child labour; fair wages, progressive taxation, free education, etc. Jewish Labour upholds collective production in agriculture (*kvuzah*) where demanded by the settlers, though it does not oppose individual farms, provided the settler cultivates his land with the help of his family, without hired labour. A. D. Gordon (who died in 1922 in Deganiah, in Palestine) became the apostle of the doctrine that the Jews who have been estranged from manual labour must return to it. "Work will heal us. In the centre of all our hopes we must place work; our entire structure must be founded on labour." [1]

In January 1939 the Jewish workers in Palestine organized in the General Federation of Jewish Labour numbered 82,000 (including about 7000 office employees or members of the professions, and 6600 members of the Labour Youth Federation, but not counting 26,000 wives of members). The Federation runs its own health insurance, hospitals, sanatoriums, clinics, a theatre, schools, libraries, a Workers' Bank, credit associations, and labour exchanges. It has succeeded in raising the Jewish workman's standard of living above the average level of the country; and, in spite of the absence of legal regulation, has managed to

[1] A. D. Gordon, *Selected Essays* (English translation, New York, 1938), p. 56.

introduce the eight-hour day in industry and the plantations, to eliminate child labour, and to create collective and co-operative farms and a large number of co-operative enterprises in handicrafts and in the building and transport trades. In all these matters the Jewish economic system in Palestine forms a contrast to that of the neighbouring countries, where starvation wages, very long working hours, and child labour are the rule.

Labour realizes that under present conditions private capital is needed for the development of Palestine, and therefore does not in principle oppose private economic activities. But it demands that the opportunities of employment created by Jewish capital should benefit Jewish workmen, and that these should be paid such wages as will secure the minimum standard of a civilized existence. Its demands have been successful in industry, and, to a certain extent, in the plantation colonies, even where the employers could have obtained non-Jewish labour at lower wages. This deviation from economic principles on the part of the employers is explained by the fact that most of them emigrated to Palestine from Zionist rather than from economic motives, and consider it their duty to create employment for other Jews, and for new immigrants. It remains to be seen whether in the future the common national interests of employers and employees will suffice to overcome their conflicting economic interests, and whether, in the face of competition from non-Jewish employers inside and outside Palestine, the Jewish employers will be willing and able to satisfy the demands of Jewish labour. Hitherto many Jewish employers have been able to pay higher wages because they found exceptionally good markets for their produce; or because the new industries introduced by them met with no local competition; or because their Jewish customers paid higher prices for their produce than for similar non-Jewish produce.

But this is not a safe or permanent basis. Propaganda for *tozereth hayishuv* (Jewish produce) will not work in export trade, and it will be hard to solve the problem how the claim of the Jewish workman to an adequate minimum wage is to be reconciled with the rules of free competition in a capitalist world. A partial solution may possibly be found by the Jewish workmen adapting themselves to the conditions of the country and establishing consumers' co-operatives to reduce their cost of living, so that with lower money wages real wages may yet remain at the same level. On the other hand, the progressive development of the country leads to a rise in the standard of living of the Arab workmen, and therefore to a demand for higher wages, so that possibly, within measurable time, the rates of pay of Jewish and non-Jewish labour will meet half-way. But even this will only afford a solution if there is no immigration into Palestine of cheap labour from neighbouring countries, or if these countries also raise both their standards of living and their rates of wages to a level with Palestine.

5. The religious problem

Up to 1880 the Jews in Palestine were strictly orthodox. This was partly due to the sincere convictions of the vast majority, and partly to the fact that the rabbis threatened any progressive-minded persons with excommunication. At this period most of the Jews (the " old Yishuv ") lived on charitable gifts, sent by devout Jews from all parts of the world, to enable them to dedicate their lives to the study of the Torah. This very fact forced them to lead a life of religious devotion.

The national Jews (the " new Yishuv ") who have been coming to Palestine since 1882, and who had already departed from traditional Judaism, were at first a small minority in the midst of the " old Yishuv ". Even in

1914 about two-thirds of the 85,000 Jewish inhabitants of Palestine still belonged to the old orthodox type, and only one-third to the new national, progressive section. The proportion was, however, completely reversed by the War; the old people in the towns suffered severely, and many of them died, while immigration of non-orthodox Jews set in on a large scale after 1918. By 1922 only about half of the Palestinian Jews were orthodox, and in 1939 only about one-fifth. The orthodox Jews live chiefly in Jerusalem, where they form approximately half of the Jewish population. The main body and the leaders of orthodox Jewry are of East European extraction, and many still speak Yiddish, but they have been joined by some of the Sephardic and Oriental Jews. The new Yishuv is not uniform in its attitude toward religion. Although the majority have departed from tradition and represent all degrees of "progressive" Judaism, a minority belong to the Zionist "Mizrachi" party, who, contrary to non-Zionist orthodoxy, lay stress on the national character of Jewish life, but desire to combine it with religious tradition.

Jewish religion in Palestine has blended with national life. Old features of Jewish life, partly or entirely obsolete in Europe, have been revived in Palestine — the strict observance of the Sabbath and of the Jewish Feasts, which coincide once more with the seasons of the year and agricultural seasons, the exclusive use of Hebrew as the vernacular in religious services and at all public functions, the Jewish character of the schools, and the growth of purely Jewish villages and towns with administrative and cultural self-government. The ethical character of the work of national reconstruction helps to evoke creative forces in religion. The new religious life can take up old threads in Palestine, and many things regain a meaning and a background which they had lost in the Diaspora.

Certain symbols and ceremonies are revived, while others die out. Religious rites are adjusted to the new conditions. Just as at the beginning of the Diaspora the need for protecting the Jews in foreign countries against intermarriage and absorption imposed on them the minute observation, and the extension, of those religious rites which accentuated their peculiar position, so their return from the countries of the Diaspora and their concentration in Palestine enables them to relax these rules because they are no longer vital. In Palestine the Jew does not need them in order to be recognized as a Jew or to reveal his Jewish allegiance.

Jewish Law ordains that one or more rabbis may convoke a Sanhedrin of eminent Jewish scholars to Palestine with power to alter or develop existing laws. At the beginning of the sixteenth century an unsuccessful attempt to convoke such a Sanhedrin was made by the Rabbi Jacob Berab of Safed. It is doubtful whether a future attempt of this kind would meet with more success. But Jewish life in Palestine, while preserving the essence of Jewish monotheism and Jewish ethics, will continue to adjust Jewish traditions and ceremonies to the vital needs of present conditions. Such an adjustment or reconstruction, originating from an intense Jewish life, will carry much more weight than all plans of reform suggested by rabbis and scholars, and might eventually result in a real revival of Jewish religion. Possibly with the growing prestige of Palestine the creative work achieved there in the sphere of religion may receive universal sanction, and free Jewry from its present religious discord.

6. How many more Jews can Palestine absorb?

With an area of 26,000 square kilometres, Palestine has some 1,500,000 inhabitants, or 58 to the square kilometre.

In comparison —

Italy has	138	per square	kilometre
Germany ,,	144	,,	,,
Japan ,,	181	,,	,,
England and Wales have	270	,,	,,
Belgium has	273	,,	,,

Palestine has therefore a relatively sparse population. This remains true if we compare cultivable areas. In Palestine, with some 12,000 square kilometres of cultivable soil, there are 125 people to the square kilometre as compared with —

184 in New Zealand	772 in Switzerland
205 ,, India	800 ,, Great Britain
305 ,, Germany	802 ,, Holland
452 ,, Egypt	993 ,, Japan
640 ,, Belgium	

In past ages, when the population mainly derived their food from the products of their own country, the extent of the cultivable area largely determined the possibility of any increase of numbers. Today, with a vast system of international trade, things have entirely changed. The limit to the increase of population in Palestine is, at any rate for a good many years to come, controlled much less by its area than by political conditions, by the influence of capital, and by the economic enterprise of its inhabitants. If harmonious conditions are restored and the Jews in other countries are again permitted to emigrate to Palestine with their possessions and to use in business in that country the experience they have gained in Europe, Palestine can take many more immigrants. Its agriculture is still capable of great development. It has recently been shown that the considerable rainfall which Palestine receives, and which flows away, either above or below ground, to the sea, can be utilized for irrigation at a reasonable cost by means of deep borings (and perhaps also by

damming). In this way the watered area, which now amounts to only 400,000 dunams (100,000 acres), can be raised to 2 or 3 million dunams, and the produce of this area increased to four or five times its present money value. This will, of course, only be possible if the capital and the will and ability to replace the present extensive by intensive agriculture are available, and if the resulting produce can be sold at remunerative prices either in the country or abroad in competition with other producing countries. The Jews can bring to Palestine the capital and skill required for intensive agriculture; this has been demonstrated by the experience of the past thirty years in Jewish colonization.

The Arabs, too, where they have water for irrigation, know how to use it with advantage in the growing of vegetables, oranges, and bananas. The primitive use of the soil for the production of corn without irrigation was forced upon the Palestinian Arabs under the Turkish régime, because the common ownership of the soil by all the villagers, the political and legal insecurity, and the lack of capital, made investments in the form of irrigation works and tree-planting impossible or extremely risky. In reality, the employment of the soil of Palestine for corn-growing without irrigation is in many parts of the country a violation of the natural conditions, tree-planting being much more suitable. Palestine cannot compete with the great corn-growing countries, such as Australia and the United States, and must in the long run turn over to intensive agriculture. The country imported in 1937 food-stuffs to the value of £2,000,000 for the needs of the Jewish population. According to expert estimates it is possible to produce half of this in the country at competitive prices.[1]

[1] Bulletin of the Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency (Jerusalem, 1938), vol. ii. p. 116.

The export prospects for agricultural produce are also not unfavourable. The output of oranges has increased enormously of late years, and at the moment it is not easy to find markets that can absorb it, but in view of the excellent quality of the Palestine orange, and of the steadily growing popularity of the orange throughout the world, there is reason to hope that orange production can be further increased after a few years. It has, moreover, been found that Palestine can produce other tree fruits, and in the valley of the Jordan both sub-tropical and tropical fruits, which can reach the European markets more quickly than fruit from other sub-tropical and tropical countries. Production of seed, too, and the production of industrial and pharmaceutical plants, present good prospects for export.

Industry, which has been constantly increasing in recent years, especially under the influence of German Jews with great industrial experience, has possibilities of further extension. Various industries which were mainly in Jewish hands in Germany and Austria (*e.g.*, the clothing, pharmaceutical, furriery, lace-making, fine leather goods, and Viennese fancy goods industries), and which produced principally for export, have been crippled by the persecution of the Jews in those countries. Attempts to transplant these industries to other countries have already met with a measure of success. Since Palestine has recently received a large proportion of the owners of these industries, there is room for hope that some of their enterprise will benefit the country and result in the creation of export industries. The refining plant for Mosul oil, now under erection at Haifa, will provide cheap fuel, and also the raw material of a chemical industry. The Dead Sea contains inexhaustible supplies of potash, bromine, and other minerals, which have been exported for some years past by the Palestine Potash Company, the existence of which

is mainly due to Jewish initiative and capital. The export and the use in manufacture of these minerals are capable of assuming much greater dimensions in the future. The use of potash as fertilizer and the utilization of the vast peat deposits in the Huleh marshes, in the upper Jordan valley, can greatly increase the productivity of agriculture in Palestine. The tourist trade, also, has great possibilities of extension in consequence of the improved conditions of travel both to and in Palestine, and may become a factor in the development of Jewish shipping.

It is difficult to predict the pace at which all these possibilities can be realized. That depends upon the restoration of peace in the country, and upon the influx of capital, which depends in turn on the political and economic situation of the Jews outside Palestine. From 1921 to 1938 the Jewish population increased annually by 9 per cent, on the average, through immigration. This is an indication of the expansive capacity of Jewish trade and industry in Palestine. The urge to emigration among the European Jews is stronger now than at any time during the past twenty years, and if immigration into Palestine and the transfer of emigrants' property had not been legislatively restricted, many more than this 9 per cent would have migrated to Palestine. If this ratio remains constant, the Jewish population, taking into account the natural increase of 2 per cent annually, would reach 2,000,000 in fifteen years. In the same time the Arabs, with a natural increase of 2½ per cent annually and no immigration, would also total 2,000,000.

With a possible immigration of a million Jews in the next fifteen or twenty years, Palestine cannot completely solve the Jewish problem. It cannot become a new home for all the Jews who have to emigrate on account of the disappearance of their means of livelihood. But it

might be able to receive the whole natural increase of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe (without Russia), whose economic and political situation is especially precarious. This alone would mean a considerable alleviation of the lot of the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN JEWS AND ARABS

1. History of the conflict

Before the Great War, when the Jews of Palestine were a negligible factor as regards numbers and economic influence, their relations with the Arabs were quite satisfactory. Palestine was then under Turkish rule; Jerusalem and the southern part formed an autonomous administrative district (sandjak), while the northern region was a part of the vilayet (province) of Syria.

Under the despotic rule of Abdul Hamid there could be no development of Arab national feeling. Regarded from a national standpoint, the Arabs of Palestine were an amorphous mass, very little in touch with Arabs of the more distant parts of the Turkish Empire.[1] This was due partly to the bad communications (the journey from Palestine to Iraq, for instance, had to be made by camel and took several weeks), and partly to differences in culture and race. The Arabs of the towns of Syria and Palestine, and still more of Egypt, looked down on the Bedouins of Arabia or the semi-Bedouin population of Iraq and Transjordania as at a much lower level of civilization. These peoples have also no community of race.

[1] The pro-Arab book *The Arab Awakening*, by George Antonius (London, 1939), shows that between 1908 and 1914 there existed only a few conspiratorial associations of nationalist Syrian Arabs in Paris and Beirut. The Arab aspiration for liberty was stronger in Arabia proper, where the Turkish rule was much weaker and often no more than nominal.

The Bedouins of the Arabian peninsula, the true home of the Arabs, belong mainly to the Mediterranean race; among the inhabitants of Palestine, Syria, and Iraq the Alpine component predominates, as among the Jews; these peoples were subjugated in the early days of Islam by Arab invaders from Arabia, and were forced to use the Arabic language.

The Jews assumed that the Arabs of Palestine would see no objection to large Jewish immigration or to Jewish autonomy under a British Mandate, if this immigration brought them economic advantages and involved no curtailment of their individual rights. This hope of peaceful infiltration was disappointed. The immigration of the Jews brought the Arabs unquestionable direct and indirect economic advantages; but these did not mollify the new Arab nationalists. After the release of the Arabs from the Turkish yoke and the creation of independent Arab States in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Iraq, Arab nationalism raised its head also in Palestine, and spread with remarkable rapidity. At first it showed itself mainly among the upper class of the Arabs of the towns; then, under the leadership of the Mufti of Jerusalem, Hadji Amin, and with the support of anti-British propaganda fomented from abroad, it spread among the mass of the Arab population, in complete disregard of all economic considerations. In Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Iraq, with a population of 10,500,000, and an area of 1,500,000 square kilometres, the Arabs had achieved their independence; they now demanded it in Syria, under French Mandate (population 3,500,000; area 200,000 sq. km.), and Palestine (population 1,500,000, of whom 1,030,000 were Arabs; area 26,000 sq. km.). The Pan-Arabists have still more far-reaching plans of a federation of the Arab States in Asia, or even of all the Arabic-speaking peoples of Asia and North Africa.

Under the influence of the growing Arab nationalism

the antagonism grew between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. In 1921 came the first sanguinary rioting against the Jews. In 1922, a plan for a Legislative Council introduced by the Government failed owing to Arab opposition to the proposed number of official members on the Council. In 1929, the tension was aggravated by the dispute over the right of the Jews to pray at the Wailing Wall. This dispute, in itself of no great importance, stirred up religious feelings and increased hostility on both sides; serious disturbances broke out during which a few hundred Jews were killed and wounded. After the disturbances the British Government dispatched the Shaw Commission, and afterwards Sir John Hope Simpson, to Palestine to investigate the grievances of Jews and Arabs. Their reports on the extent of the displacement of Arabs from land and employment, since disproved,[1] influenced the British Government to the detriment of the Jews. In that spirit the White Paper of October 1930 was issued by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield, in which the Arab rights were stressed and those of the Jews were pared down. After a Cabinet Conference had re-examined the White Paper, the position as defined by the Mandate was restored in a letter addressed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in February 1931 to Dr. Weizmann, as President of the Jewish Agency.

Soon afterwards, Sir Arthur G. Wauchope was appointed High Commissioner. In the first five years of his office the tension between Jews and Arabs continued unabated, but there were no serious disorders. The country experienced a period of unprecedented economic prosperity, due to the big influx of capital in the wake of growing Jewish immigration. The renewal of the project of a Legislative Council, decided on by the Government in 1936, met with opposi-

[1] See pamphlet *The Statistical Bases of Sir John Hope Simpson's Report.* London, 1931.

tion from the Jews, who were afraid that the Arabs would use the Council for preventing Jewish immigration. In April 1936, the Arabs started disturbances, followed by a general strike. Acts of violence (murder, sniping, arson, lopping of fruit trees) committed by Arab terrorist gangs against the Jews, and afterwards also against dissenting Arabs and the police and army, became so general that the British Government decided to send out a Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Peel, to investigate the causes of the disturbances. The Report of the Commission, published in 1937, suggested, rather unexpectedly, as the best solution the partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish State, a small " corridor " from Jerusalem to Jaffa remaining under British Mandate. The Jewish State should contain the greater part of the coastal zone, the Esdraelon Valley, and Galilee, with an area of about 5000 sq. km. and at that time a population of 305,000 Jews and 295,000 Arabs.

This proposal had a mixed reception among the Jews. Those who supported it saw in the possession of an independent State the best guarantee of undisturbed national progress ; its opponents pointed out its diminutive territory and the difficulty of defending its frontiers, which would render the State politically unstable and economically incapable of existence. The Arabs violently opposed partition ; they demanded the whole of Palestine as Arab territory.

The British Government accepted the principle of partition, and in 1938 it sent out a new Commission, the so-called Partition (Woodhead) Commission, to report on the problems involved. The terms of reference were such as to make the Palestinian Jews give to this new body the name of the " Repeal Commission ". The Arabs refused to attend before the Commission, and continued terrorism on an extended scale. The Commission presented its

report in November 1938. It discarded the Peel plan without supplying a feasible substitute.

In issuing this report, the Government accepted its negative conclusions but deferred declaring its own policy until it had made a further effort through conversations with Jews and Arabs to secure an agreement between them. These negotiations took place in February and March 1939, in London; the Jews were represented by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, with which were associated the orthodox Agudat Yisrael and some prominent non-Zionists; the Arabs were represented by Palestinian delegates and by plenipotentiaries from the surrounding Arab States (Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Transjordania).

2. The Arab viewpoint

The London negotiations revealed the gulf that has opened between Jews and Arabs. The Palestine Arabs having refused to meet the Jews, the Government negotiated separately with each side. The Arabs demanded the annulment of the Balfour Declaration, the closing of Palestine against Jewish immigration, and the raising of Palestine to an independent State, which would conclude a treaty of alliance, on the Iraqi model, with Great Britain, and the most they were prepared to promise was equality of rights for the Jews already living in the country.

The Arabs maintain that, except during the Crusades, Palestine has been theirs since the seventh century, and remained an Arab country even under Turkish rule (1516–1917). They claim that the Balfour Declaration, admitting the Jews to Palestine against the will of the Arabs and assisting them in building up a National Home, is contrary to the principle of national self-determination. They assert, moreover, that the Balfour Declaration was given in contradiction with prior promises made by Great Britain

through Sir Henry McMahon, in 1915, to the Sherif Hussein of Mecca, by which the independence of all the Arab States was assured. They do not accept the explanation of the British Government that Palestine was excluded from these promises.

The correspondence between McMahon and the Sherif of Mecca was published by the British Government as a White Paper in March 1939. It shows the ambiguity and the lack of geographical precision of these documents, but it can hardly be said to corroborate the Arab assertions. McMahon himself, in a letter to *The Times* on July 23, 1937, refuted the Arab point of view. Moreover, the Emir Feisal, son of the Sherif of Mecca and his representative at the Paris Peace Conference, acknowledged the Balfour Declaration in an agreement concluded on January 3, 1919, with Dr. Weizmann as head of the Zionist Organization, subject to the Arabs *outside Palestine* gaining their independence. The attainment of independence of these vast territories was at that time so overwhelming an achievement, and so far beyond expectation, that Feisal was easily reconciled to the idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. The agreement with Feisal was published by the Jewish Agency for Palestine in *The Times* in June 1936 and republished in March 1939, together with other documents supporting the assertion that the Arabs acquiesced during the years 1917–21 in the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and that their later claims, built up on the McMahon correspondence, are political afterthoughts.

The Arabs quote Iraq, Transjordania, and Saudi Arabia as examples of countries formerly under Turkish rule which are now independent; and they claim that as Palestine is at least as highly developed as those countries, it is entitled to the same independence.

3. The Jewish claims

The Jews, at the London Conferences as previously, based their right to enter Palestine and to build there their National Home on their unbroken historical connexion with the country; on their imperative need of Palestine if they are to survive as a nation; on the part played by the Jews in world culture, which renders desirable the continuation of their existence as a nation; on their achievements in Palestine; on the terrible plight of the Jews in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, of whom many hundreds of thousands have to leave these countries and need Palestine as a refuge; and on international rights established under the Mandate.

In the very Preamble to the Palestine Mandate the historical connexion of the Jewish people with Palestine is quoted as one of the grounds for reconstituting there their National Home. In the consciousness of the civilized world, Palestine is connected with the Jews and not with the Arabs. Were it not for the Jews it would count for nothing in history, but through monotheism, the Bible, and Christianity the history of the Jews in Palestine has become one of the bases of civilization, common to mankind. Conversely, the great cultural achievements of the Arabs are wholly unconnected with Palestine. In speaking of Arab civilization one thinks of Mecca, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, and Granada, not of Jerusalem; and even now Palestine counts for less in Arab culture than Egypt, Iraq, Arabia, Syria, or Morocco.

Nor have the Jews ever altogether left Palestine. Persecutions by the Crusaders reduced the Jewish settlements in Palestine, but none the less the uninterrupted presence of a certain number of Jews can be proved from the earliest times to this day. And all through history Jews from the Diaspora made pilgrimages to Palestine, or went

there to live in the country hallowed by their national history and to be buried in its soil. Jews who died in the Diaspora — called in Hebrew *Galuth* (Exile) — attached importance to having at least some grains of Palestine earth put into their graves.

Even more than through that "remainder" in Palestine, the Jewish people in the Diaspora felt bound to Palestine by its Messianic hopes. The thought of the "*Geulah*" (deliverance from the Exile and return to Palestine) exerted a supreme influence on the Jews through the Middle Ages and until our own day. Jewry never accepted the *Galuth* as final; in daily prayer it supplicated for the return to Palestine, be it from the ends of the earth.

Nor can the Jews survive as a national entity except through the National Home in Palestine; and this Jewish struggle for life necessarily affects the non-Jewish world, for the Jewish problem is an unsettling factor in the lives of many nations, and demands a solution. It has become ten times more acute through the seven years of unprecedented persecution of the Jews in Germany and other European countries, and through the new war, which has struck a terrible blow at the Jews in Poland. The National Home in Palestine will take off the edge of the problem, and although there will not be room for all the Jews, its existence as a refuge will improve the position of all. More than that: the Jews consider that they have a right to call upon the peoples of the world, who took so many stones from Jewish culture in order to build their own, to help the Jews to continue as a nation to place their creative energies in the service of humanity. They appeal for the world's help in the upbuilding of a National Home in Palestine, which alone can preserve them from the physical and spiritual downfall with which they are threatened by assimilation and anti-Semitism in other countries.

Fifty years ago the Jews found Palestine in a state of hopeless neglect, and it is mainly owing to their work that its productivity has been increased through improved agricultural methods, that swamps have been drained, malaria has been stamped out, factories have been started, and new towns or suburbs have been built. The work done, moreover, by the British Administration in the matter of schools, hygiene, roads, and railways, work which has immensely benefited the Arabs, would not have been possible if Jewish immigration and activities had not increased the revenue from taxes, duties, and communications. In Transjordania, where there are no Jews, the fellaheen live under conditions far inferior to those of Palestine, and look with envy on the flourishing state of that country. Far from displacing the Arabs, the economic activities of the Jews have created additional opportunities for Arabs. The *Report* of the Partition Commission (page 48) recognizes this fact: "Economic conditions in Palestine are by now so closely bound with Jewish immigration, both actual and prospective, that the Arabs in Palestine would be faced with the prospect of greater economic hardship if Jewish immigration should be completely closed down than they would be if it should be allowed to continue". The Arabs themselves have neither the capital nor the knowledge nor the energy to develop the latent economic resources of Palestine. To quote an instance: the Negeb District (Southern Palestine) covers about half of the total area of Palestine. It has very little rainfall and is inhabited only by some 70,000 nomads. The Government has hitherto withheld from the Jews the permission to make test borings, by which, if they were successful, this region could be transformed into one of fertile fields and gardens. The *Report* of the Partition Commission says on this point (page 255): "The Negeb is desert, and desert it is

likely to remain unless Jewish enterprise and capital can develop it ".

From the point of view of International Law the claim of the Jews to a National Home in Palestine cannot be contested. Great Britain liberated Palestine from Turkish rule, and before doing so the British Government gave, of its own free will, a promise to the Jews of its help in building up a National Home in Palestine ; this promise was incorporated as an obligation in the Mandate. It is only circumscribed by the clauses which declare that the building of the Jewish National Home must not prejudice the civil and religious rights or the position of the non-Jewish population of Palestine. The League of Nations and its Permanent Mandates Commission are to supervise the carrying out of the Mandate, and in cases in which Jewish and Arab interests clash they are to consider the needs of the two nations and try to find a fair solution.

But above all international law there is a higher law, established in the conscience of civilized mankind, that every nation must be given an opportunity to live its own life unhampered by the tyranny of other nations. The Arabs have largely secured this opportunity since the Great War. They have been freed, mainly by the assistance of the Allied forces, from the Turkish yoke, and now rule independently over a vast area with plenty of room for double or treble its present population. The Jews, who lost 100,000 of their sons on the battlefields, have only the Balfour Declaration which promises them a National Home in tiny Palestine, whose area is only 1 per cent of the territory now under Arab rule.

That promise is the Jews' one hope of national existence and of the free development of their creative cultural and economic faculties, and the only silver lining in the dark cloud hanging over them in so many countries. When the addition of the 26,000 sq. km. of Palestine to the vast

Arab territory, nearly 2,000,000 sq. km. in extent, is weighed against the possibility of restoring to the 17,000,000 Jews a refuge of their own and the right to be a nation like all other nations, the scale should clearly go down on the Jewish side. The Permanent Mandates Commission in its report for 1937 says in this regard: "It should be remembered that the collective sufferings of Arabs and Jews are not comparable, since vast spaces in the Near East, formerly the abode of a numerous population and a brilliant civilization, are open to the former, whereas the world is increasingly being closed to settlement by the latter". Similarly Sir Alison Russell, a member of the Partition Commission, says (*Report* of the Partition Commission, page 262): "The Arabs should reflect on the immense areas of land over which the Arabs have obtained sovereignty as a result of the Allied success in the Great War, to which the Jews contributed in no small measure".

The Arabs fear that as a result of continued Jewish immigration the Jews might rule the whole of Palestine. The Jews have tried to allay these apprehensions. The Zionist congresses of 1921, 1925, and 1929 expressed the desire for co-operation with the Arabs, and recognized the principle that in Palestine neither nationality should dominate or be dominated; there should be a commonwealth in which Jews and Arabs would live side by side as two nationalities with equal rights under a mandatory system guaranteeing this equality. Examples of such parity may be found in the status of British and Boers in South Africa, and of British and French in Canada.

4. The attitude of Great Britain

Neither the Balfour Declaration nor the Palestine Mandate determines in detail the future political position

of Jews and non-Jews in Palestine. At that time most Zionists and non-Jewish supporters of Zionism envisaged Palestine as a Jewish State. The (Churchill) White Paper issued in 1922, shortly before Great Britain was entrusted with the Mandate for Palestine, laid down that the development of the Jewish National Home does not mean the imposition of Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole; it does mean that the right of the Jews to settle in Palestine, based upon their ancient historic connexion with this country, is internationally guaranteed, so that the Jews should know that they are in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance — in other words, that their right to immigration and settlement does not depend upon the good will of the Arabs of Palestine but is based on a higher authority. On the basis of official documents and evidence referring to the period of the Balfour Declaration and the White Paper, the Royal Commission concluded that His Majesty's Government themselves realized that a Jewish State might in course of time be established.

Since then the policy of the Mandatory Power has changed a great deal. The universal human sympathy for the fate of the Jewish nation, and the enthusiasm of the initiators of the Balfour Declaration, have faded, and as Cabinets have changed the opportunist consideration has gained force that the Balfour Declaration, while binding, is also burdensome. Regard for Egypt, for the Arab States in Asia, and for the Mohammedans in India, was adduced as an argument against giving active support to the Jews. The British Government felt no call to encourage the Zionist colonization efforts; it remained a passive observer or even tried to put a brake on them. It followed the line of least resistance, trying to keep on terms of friendship with both parties and to prevent an open break between them. When disorders occurred in Palestine the

Government tried to restore order by sending military reinforcements, but owing to its indecision these often arrived too late.

At the time of the London negotiations with Arabs and Jews in February and March 1939 the irresolution of the British Government was increased by the fact that it was a time of acute international tension. The Government was exerting itself to the utmost to preserve world peace or, at all events, to avoid conflicts which, if war came, might diminish its strategic power. It was afraid that, if the problem of Palestine was settled against the wishes of the Arab leaders, Arab discontent might unfavourably affect the British strategic position as against the Fascist Powers. The Arabs energetically made capital out of this fear in order to gain all the concessions they could; and they achieved a large measure of success.

When it became clear that no agreement could be secured between Jews and Arabs, the Government broke off the Conference, and issued a Statement of Policy (Cmd. 6019) in regard to Palestine. In this White Paper it declared its intention of setting up in Palestine within ten years an independent State " in such treaty relations with the United Kingdom as will provide satisfactorily for the commercial and strategic requirements of both countries in the future ". The treaty will especially provide " for the protection of the different communities in Palestine in accordance with the obligations of H.M. Government to both Arabs and Jews, and for the special position in Palestine of the Jewish National Home. . . . If, at the end of ten years, it appears to H.M. Government that, contrary to their hope, circumstances require the postponement of the establishment of the independent State, they will consult with representatives of the people of Palestine, the Council of the League of Nations, and the neighbouring Arab States before deciding on such a post-

ponement." In the transition period of ten years, self-government will be gradually developed and co-operation secured between Arabs and Jews. In the first five years of the transition period, beginning in April 1939, the Jewish population is not to increase beyond one-third of the total population: this means that during this period immigration is limited to a total of 75,000. After five years Jewish immigration is only to be permitted if the Arabs acquiesce in it. " His Majesty's Government are satisfied that, when the immigration over five years which is now contemplated has taken place, they will not be justified in facilitating, nor will they be under any obligation to facilitate, the further development of the Jewish National Home by immigration regardless of the wishes of the Arab population." Land purchases are to be governed by special regulations to be issued by the High Commissioner; probably it is intended to leave them free of control only in a small zone and to restrict or prohibit them in the remaining zones. Both parties rejected these proposals.

5. The situation after the London Conference

The new White Paper clearly implies the abandonment of the essential provisions of the Mandate, which binds the British Government to help the Jews in the creation of their National Home. The Government contends that in its past administration in Palestine it has done all that it was bound to do in this respect, and that it can regard this part of its task as fulfilled. In reality the White Book does not by any means assure the setting up of a Jewish National Home. In the proposed independent State of Palestine, in spite of all the reservations in the White Paper, the Arab majority would rule, and the Jews would have no adequate protection against the lust for power of the majority. The fate of the Jewish minorities in

Eastern Europe, and the fate of the Assyrians in the independent State of Iraq, are sufficient proofs of this assertion. Who will compel a predominantly Arab State to carry out its moral and legal obligations towards a minority of Jews? Can it be expected that the British Government will do so — the same British Government that has been trying to appease the Arabs at the expense of the Jews? Zionism was born of the recognition that the Jews are unable to maintain their existence as a nation because they are everywhere a minority, more or less dependent on the goodwill of the majority. The very purpose of the Jewish National Home was to provide them with the opportunity of existence in Palestine as a nation, alongside the Arab nation, on a footing of equality and independence.

The restrictions on immigration and land purchase proposed by the Government would also make the setting up of a Jewish National Home illusory. Immigration is the artery through which the *Yishub* (Jewish community) in Palestine is connected with the Jews in the rest of the world. If this artery is tied or cut, as proposed by the British Government, by restricting immigration, the *Yishub* will be crippled or withered. A Palestine that at the present day, when the Jews are desperately in search of new countries of immigration, has no substantial contribution to make, but remains virtually limited to its present Jewish population, cannot be regarded by the Jews as a Jewish National Home.

It is essential also for the Jews to acquire a sufficiency of further land in Palestine, to form the basis of existence for new immigrants and to give agriculture its due place in the economic system. With their modern methods the Jews can cultivate soil which is not tilled by the Arabs. There is no question of driving Arabs out of Palestine. An example is the Huleh marshes, about 50,000 dunams,

the greatest and worst breeding-ground of malaria in Palestine. A Syrian Arab had received a concession from the Sultan before the War for the reclamation of this area, but up to 1934 no serious attempt had been made to carry out the work. A Jewish firm, the Palestine Land Development Company, then purchased the concession. Arab tenants had cultivated this malaria-ridden soil, living under wretched conditions and dependent on the goodwill of the concessionaire for the renewal of their short-term tenancies. The company undertook to hand over to the tenants, without payment, after the reclamation and irrigation of the land, as much of it as the Government considered necessary for their existence. It agreed to give up for this purpose about a third of the area, to the value of several hundred thousand pounds. In this way it will provide land for new Jewish settlers and at the same time improve the situation of the existing Arab tillers of the soil. With the improved methods of the Jews the soil of Palestine can support a much larger population than it supports at present.[1] In the comparatively short time that has elapsed the Jews have already raised Palestine to a higher economic level, and found new means of livelihood for hundreds of thousands in agriculture and industry.

But they can apply their whole energies to the task only if they can work in freedom, and not be subjected to dictation from the Arabs, or to legislative restrictions in regard to immigration and land purchase. To accept subjection to Arab rule would be the self-destruction of the Zionist ideal. The active supporters of the National Home can be killed, but they cannot be compelled to commit suicide.

In the summer of 1939 the international situation was again becoming tense. The Zionist Congress, at its session in Geneva, in August 1939, passed a resolution protesting

[1] See my evidence before the Royal Commission, *Report*, p. 241.

against the Palestine policy of the British Government, but emphasized that this resolution was directed solely against the White Paper of May 1939 and not against Great Britain. On August 24, as the international position was rapidly deteriorating, Dr. Weizmann, in his last speech to the Congress, repeated once more that, whatever grievances the Jews had against the British Government, " above them are higher interests which are common to us and the Western democracies. Their concern is ours, their fight is our fight." And on his return to London Dr. Weizmann addressed, on August 29, 1939, the following letter to Mr. Neville Chamberlain :

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER,—In this hour of supreme crisis, the consciousness that the Jews have a contribution to make to the defence of sacred values impels me to write this letter. I wish to confirm, in the most explicit manner, the declarations which I and my colleagues have made during the last months, and especially in the last week : that the Jews " stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies ".

Our urgent desire is to give effect to these declarations. We wish to do so in a way entirely consonant with the general scheme of British action, and therefore would place ourselves, in matters big and small, under the co-ordinating direction of His Majesty's Government. The Jewish Agency is ready to enter into immediate arrangements for utilizing Jewish man-power, technical ability, resources, etc.

The Jewish Agency has recently had differences in the political field with the Mandatory Power. We would like these differences to give way before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time.

The Prime Minister replied on September 2, 1939 :

DEAR DR. WEIZMANN,—I should like to express my warm appreciation of the contents of your letter of August 29, and of the spirit which prompted it. It is true that differences of opinion exist between the Mandatory Power and the Jewish Agency as regards policy in Palestine, but I gladly accept the assurance con-

tained in your letter. I note with pleasure that in this time of supreme emergency, when those things which we hold dear are at stake, Britain can rely upon the whole-hearted co-operation of the Jewish Agency. You will not expect me to say more at this stage than that your public-spirited assurances are welcome and will be kept in mind.

CHAPTER XX

CONCLUSIONS

If the Jewish National Home in Palestine could immediately absorb the millions of Jews who are determined to remain Jews or who are compelled to leave their countries of domicile, having been deprived of their means of livelihood or under political pressure, this would put an end to the anomalous situation of the Jews, and make them once more a nation, like unto other nations. But this is impossible for economic reasons and because of Arab opposition. In the last ten years almost 250,000 Jews have migrated to Palestine, but even figures such as this are not equal to the need. More than one approach therefore is necessary to the Jewish problem.

In the rescue from anti-Semitism, temporary expedients such as emigration to any country not closed against immigrants, change of occupation, and birth control have to be applied; while the struggle for national survival can be carried on in one way only: by further building up the Jewish National Home in Palestine. This may preserve also a large part of the Jews in the Diaspora from absorption. Meanwhile, the militant nationalism, which has come as a mass psychosis after a century of liberalism, may gradually lose its virulence. The Jewish community in Palestine will restore cohesion to the scattered limbs of the Jewish nation. Hebrew will be the language of Palestine Jewry, their literary works will be written in it, and it will provide a natural access to the ancient culture of the

nation. In Palestine Jews will be able to develop their scientific and artistic abilities more easily than in the Diaspora, where a great deal of their energy is wasted on fruitless struggles against anti-Semitism. Moreover, in Palestine the proportion of Jews employed in agriculture, industry, and handicrafts will be greater, and a balanced occupational distribution in itself adds to the normal development of a nation. If the Jews of Palestine acquire a place of their own in world culture, the Jews of the Diaspora will gain a different position among the nations. They will take pride in their Jewish nationality, and their sense of union with Judaism will be strengthened. They will find more reason for desiring to remain Jews.

The Jewish religion alone, which in the past welded the Jews together and kept them as a special group, cannot do so any longer. The Jews can only hope to endure as a group if they find a new common ideal associated with their history. Zionism, by uniting all the Jews in the work of upbuilding the Jewish National Home in their old homeland, can supply this ideal. It will raise in Palestine a bulwark for the maintenance of Jewish nationality, and will also be of the utmost importance to the maintenance of Judaism in the rest of the world. Already many Jews make pilgrimages to Palestine, from which they return with a strengthened sense of their national heritage. The Jews of Palestine will be only a part of world-Jewry, but the intensity of their Jewish life will give them considerable influence over the Jews of the whole world ; it will retard the process of assimilation and reduce the losses. A state of equilibrium may be attained which will guarantee the existence of the Jews as a nation for a long time to come.

Other nations, less numerous than the Jews, maintain their position in the world—*e.g.*, the Dutch, Swiss, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. Would anyone deny that

civilization would lose if these nations disappeared? Surely all the great nations would do their utmost to save them from extinction. This should hold good also in the case of the Jews, whose cultural achievements are not inferior to those of the nations mentioned.

The fate of the Jews in Palestine and in other countries is inseparably bound up with the general political and cultural progress of humanity. The National Socialist régime in Germany came suddenly and unexpectedly, bringing ruin to German Jewry, and stirring up hatred of the Jews in other countries by its active, world-wide propaganda. On the other hand, the sympathy that has gone out to them in their distress from many quarters, especially in the great democratic States, must not be forgotten.[1] The efforts of the Jews to set up their National Home in Palestine are sympathetically watched and supported by many friends. The Jews are not isolated in their fight for existence. This sympathy is most valuable in these days. The present war may mark a turning point in the situation of the Jews. It can hardly fail to bring about a new political order in Europe, in which the ruling principle will not be brutal force but due consideration for the interests of all nations. In establishing this new order it will be the duty of the States fighting for justice and humanity to help the Jews out of their present misery and so to remove a cause of permanent unrest in the world.

The present generation of Jews has the responsibility of deciding the fate and future of the Jews — to be or not to be. In Palestine in the last three years Jews have shown that they are ready to face any dangers involved in the upbuilding of their National Home. But the Jews in Palestine can hold out successfully only if they have at

[1] The debate in the House of Lords on December 8, 1938, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury took part, was a revealing example of warm and understanding sympathy.

their back a world-Jewry ready for any sacrifice. More than ever all Jews should join forces in order, at the coming peace conference, to win over the Powers to a comprehensive solution of the Jewish problem, in which Palestine should have its proper place. If this is done, the present Jewish generation will have acquitted itself of the task imposed on it by the history of the Jewish nation, a history reckoned not in centuries, but in thousands of years. Coming generations will be able to continue building on the foundation laid by our own.

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